THE Secret Hiſtory OF THE COURT Of the Emperor JUSTINIAN.

WRITTEN

By *PROCOPIUS* of *Ceſarea*;

Faithfully rendred into *Engliſh*.

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THE SECRET HISTORY OF PROCOPIUS.

WHat hapned in the *Roman* Empire, in its Wars with the Barbarous Nations, I ſuppoſe I have exactly deſcribed, and the order which I have obſerved, is ſo juſt, every Action and Accident is to be found with its proper, and due Circumſtances, both of time and of place. In what I am now about, I do not hold my ſelf bound to ſo ſtrict a method, becauſe the ſubject is of things which paſſed in ſeveral places of the *Roman* Empire at the ſame time. When I writ my firſt Hiſtories, I thought it not expedient to be too particular, by reaſon the main Agents were then living; and I could not long have concealed, or ſecured

my ſelf againſt ſome exemplary puniſhment, if my Book ſhould have been publiſhed; and I judged it very dangerous, to commit ſuch a ſecret to any Friend whatſoever: So that in my firſt Hiſtory of all, I was obliged to omit the Motives and Cauſes of ſuch Actions and Events as I related there. Moſt people do eaſily, and without conſideration, give themſelves to imitate the Actions of their Anceſtors, and do follow their ill examples, without any care or remorſe: For my own part, nothing excited me ſo ſtrongly to this work, as that ſuch perſons who are deſirous to govern in an Arbitrary way, might diſcover, by the misfortune of thoſe whom I mention, the deſtiny that attends them, and the juſt recompence they are to expect of their crimes. Beſides, it is not impoſſible, but the fear of leaving the Hiſtory of an infamous life behind them to poſterity, may reſtrain them in ſome meaſure, and occaſion a greater averſion to ſuch deteſtable actions. And indeed, who would have abhorred the debauches of *Semiramis*, the effeminacy of *Sardanapalus*, and the cruelties of *Nero*, had not great Men undertaken the Hiſtory of their times, and tranſmitted it to poſterity. For the ſame reaſon I ſhall begin with the exorbitancies of *Beliſarius*, after which, I ſhall repreſent the Impieties of *Theodora* and *Juſtinian*. *Antonina* began to lead her life with more diſſoluteneſs and liberty, and to tranſgreſs publickly without any ſhame or regret. There was, at that time, in the Family of *Belliſarius*, a young Thracian called *Theodoſius*, whoſe

whoſe Relations being Eunomians; *Belliſarius*, before his departure in *Africk*, cauſed him to be Baptiſed, and having held him at the Font himſelf, he and his wife, adopted him with all the Ceremony which the Chriſtians uſed in their adoptions. From that time *Antonina* took all imaginable care of *Theodoſius*, (which was but juſt, having made him her ſon) ſhe cheriſhed him exceedingly, and kept him conſtantly with her; but before their paſſage into *Africk*, ſhe fell in love with him ſo deſperately, and her paſſion was ſo uncontroulable, That ſhe loſt not only all Shame, but the ſence of all Laws, both Humane and Divine. At firſt, indeed, ſhe was baſhful in her debaucheries, and all her aſſignations were with great caution and ſecreſie, but by degrees ſhe began to commit them in publick, and before her women ſervants, not apprehending any oppoſition againſt her wantonneſs, after the vehemence of her love, tranſported her to careſs him before all people. *Belliſarius* himſelf found her faulty with his own eyes, not far from *Carthage*, but he was deluded again, and wheedled by his wife, and I think not unwillingly. The buſineſs was thus. He found them together in a private Vault, and the ſight of them put him into a very great paſſion; but *Antonina* was ſo far from being out of countenance at the ſurpriſe, that ſhe advanced to meet him, and told him, That *Theodoſius* and ſhe, were come thither to hide ſome of the richeſt things which they had taken from the Enemy, that the Emperor might never hear

what was become of them. With which sudden pretence, she excused her self to *Bellisarius*, who, good Man, was not hard to be perswaded (though he observed the point of *Theodisius* his Codpeece was untied;) but suffering himself to be deluded by the caresses of his wife, he chose rather to suspect the testimony of his own senses, then be obliged to have any difference with her.

In short, the exorbitancies of *Antonina* increasing daily, and the scandal of them growing hourly more publick all the servants and friends of *Bellisarius* beheld him with much trouble, but none of them had the courage to give him any advertisement. There was one Woman (called the *Macedonian*) only, who waited upon her in her Chamber, and had the boldness to give him notice. This *Macedonian*, after *Bellisarius* had conquered *Sicily*, and was Resident in *Syracuse*, came to him, and having drawn from him several great and indispensible oaths, That he would never discover to *Antonina*, what she should tell him; she told him the whole intrigue, and brought two of the Maids of her Chamber to attest it. *Bellisarius* being convinced of the disloyalty of his wife, commanded some of his Guards to stab *Theodosius*; but the young Gentleman having notice of their orders, got away, and escaped to *Ephesus*: For the instruments which *Bellisarius* imployed, understanding his temper, and that he was naturally unconstant, thought it more wisdom to oblige his Lady with the discovery, then to trust their

fortunes

fortunes upon the uncertainty of his favor. *Conſtantine*, who was one of the Lieutenant Generals to *Belliſarius*, ſeeing him much diſcompoſed at the buſineſs, and pitying his misfortune, told him inconſiderately, That if the caſe had been his, he would have made an example rather of his wife, then *Theodoſius*: Which expreſſion being reported to *Antonina*, ſhe locked up her reſentment for ſome time in her Breſt, that when ſhe had opportunity ſhe might revenge her ſelf more effectually. For ſhe was the perſon of the whole World, who knew how to diſſemble her indignation, and cover that venome which lay boiling in her Soul; and the truth is, ſhe carried her ſelf ſo cunningly, that in a ſhort time, either by the efficacy of her charms, or the inſinuation of her tongue, ſhe perſwaded her Husband that the report of her diſloyalty to him was unjuſt, and that nothing was more falſe, then that accuſation. Whereupon *Belliſarius* ſent for *Theodoſius* back again to *Antonina*, and promiſed to deliver up the *Macedonian*, and the two Chamber-Maids, which he performed very punctually. This cruel Woman, had no ſooner got them in her power, but having firſt cut off their Noſes, ſhe cauſed their Bodies be hacked into a thouſand pieces, and then cram'd into a Sack, and thrown into the Sea. Her main agent in this horrid execution, was one of her ſervants called *Eugenius*, who had been a great Miniſter likewiſe in the miſeries which Pope *Silverius* had ſuffered. At length, *Belliſarius* at the perſwa-

ſion of his wife, put to death *Conſtantine* likewiſe; and what we have ſaid in another place, about the Dagger and *Preſidius*, hapned about the ſame time. For when *Conſtantine* was ready to have been acquitted for what he had done againſt *Preſidius* and *Belliſarius*, *Antonina* could take no reſt till ſhe were revenged for what he had ſaid againſt her. But this proceeding of *Belliſarius* drew upon him the hatred of the Emperor, and of all the great Lords of the Empire.

In the mean time, *Theodoſius* in anſwer to the invitation of *Belliſarius*, ſent him word, That he would not come back into *Italy* (where *Antonina* and he were reſident then) till he had baniſhed *Photius*, who was *Antoninaes* own ſon. This *Photius* was naturally haughty, could not brook to ſee others in greater favor then himſelf, and by conſequence thought he had great reaſon to be diſcontented. He could not with patience behold himſelf neglected, and rendred inconſiderable, being a Son of their own family, whilſt *Theodoſius* (but adopted) was in great authority, and his riches proportionable; for the report was, he had got little leſs then Ten thouſand Livres of Gold, whilſt he was Treaſurer in *Carthage* and *Ravenna*: Which was no hard matter, ſeeing the whole Treaſure, both in the one place and the other, was under his ſingle, and abſolute adminiſtration. *Antonina* underſtanding what *Theodoſius* required, fell immediately upon conſpiracy againſt her ſon, and her plots were ſo well laid, and ſo artificially

ally managed, That *Photius* finding there was no ſafety where he was, was forced to retire to *Conſtantinople*, as not being able to protect himſelf againſt her perpetual ambuſhments: When *Photius* was gone, *Theodoſius* was recalled into *Italy*, where *Antonina* continued for ſome time in as much luxury and happineſs, as the embraces of her Gallant, and the ſtupidity of her Husband could contribute: But at length ſhe returned with both of them to *Conſtantinople*. There it was, that *Theodoſius* felt his firſt compunctions of Conſcience, and began to be in no little perplexity to find how to demean himſelf; for he could not hope to conceal his courſe of life any longer, ſeeing *Antonina* was ſo far from making a ſecret of her paſſion, that ſhe abandoned her ſelf wholly to the tranſport of her luſt, without the leaſt care or regret for the imputation of an adultreſs. Upon this ſcore he went off again to *Epheſus*, and having ſhaved according to cuſtom, he entred himſelf into a Monaſtery. This accident put *Antonina* out of all patience, inſomuch, that not only her habit, but her looks and deportment, repreſented nothing but ſadneſs: She wept, and lamented up and down the houſe (though her Husband was then preſent, and in health) declaring publickly, That ſhe was undone in the loſs of *Theodoſius*, whoſe fidelity, whoſe friendſhip, whoſe diligence, and magnanimity were incomparable; and ſhe brought over *Belliſarius* to be of her opinion, inſomuch, as he ran up and down with the ſame complaints, and left no means

unattempted, that might bring *Theodosius* back again to his wife. Having tried several ways without effect, he came at length to the Emperor and Empress, and obtained of them, by extraordinary importunity to have him recalled, as a person absolutely necessary, as well for his future, as his present affairs: But *Theodosius* excused himself, pretending a resolution to continue where he was; the institutions of that Convent agreeing so exactly with his humor: Nevertheless this was but a copy of his countenance, and a design, that he might come to her afterwards, with more privacy when *Belisarius* was gone.

The Emperor in the mean time, sent *Belisarius* and *Photius* against *Cosroes*, King of the *Persians*, and *Antonina* continued at *Constantinople*, contrary to her custom; for till then, she had always accompanied her Husband in all his expeditions, how tedious, and how dangerous soever, fearing perhaps, least when he was alone, he should return to himself, and take up some resolution that might prove to her ruine, when freed from her inveiglements and charms: However, that she might not be wanting in any thing that might contribute to the recovering of *Theodosius*, she undertook to rid her self of *Photius*; to which purpose, she suborned several persons about *Belisarius*, and perswaded them not to let a day pass without affronting *Photius*, and if possible, provoking him to mutiny: On the other side, Letters passed from her continually, by which, she incensed all people against her

her Son; which, by degrees, put him upon a neceſſity of diſcovering the impieties of his Mother, to *Belliſarius*; he ſent a perſon inſtructed from *Conſtantinople*, and obliged him to tell *Belliſarius*, how the Court rung there with the debauches of his Wife and *Theodoſius*. *Belliſarius* being ſmartly touched, ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported to what ever Indignation and Fury could ſuggeſt: He threw himſelf at *Photius* Feet, and entreated him to revenge himſelf, being ſo highly offended by perſons, who by all Natural Obligations ought to have uſed him otherwiſe. *Dear childe* (ſaid he to him) *you are not ſenſible who was your Father, for you ſucked when he died; his eſtate was no great advantage to you, for it was ſmall, and inconſiderable: You have been brought up ever ſince with me, though I was but your Father in Law; and you are now at an age, in which you have power to aſſiſt me in vindication of the injury has been done me. I have preferred you to the dignity of a Conſul, I have heaped wealth on you; ſo that I have ſerved you for a Father, a Mother, and for all that is of near Relation; for which reaſon, you may call me by thoſe titles very juſtly: For Men are not uſed to limit their Friendſhip according to the degrees of conſanguinity, but rather according to merit and obligations. You have now a fair occaſion preſented, if you have any reſpect for a Perſon, whoſe honor, eſtate, and family, is in evident danger; and if you diſdain not to concern your ſelf for your Mother, who by her ill conduct, runs a great hazard of making her ſelf the Scandal and Reproach of all intelligent Men.*

You

You may conſider, the frailties of a Wife have not ſo great reflexion upon the Husband, as the Children, upon whom the ignominy remains as an ill diſeaſe, which they had contracted from their Mothers. For my own part, I would have you believe I love Antonina *exceedingly, and would never be induced to do her any miſcheif, if I could but revenge my ſelf of him, who is the plague of my Family: But I ſhall never forgive my Wife, whilſt* Theodoſius *is living. Photius* heard him with great patience, and promiſed his utmoſt aſſiſtance, but his greateſt apprehenſion was, what might befal him, if he ſhould repoſe any confidence in *Belliſarius*, who was the lighteſt and moſt unconſtant of his Sex, eſpecially in a buſineſs ſo contrary to *Antonina*. Several examples of his levity, gave him reaſon to fear, but none was ſo terrible as the misfortune of the *Macedonian*. Hereupon he preſſed, and prevailed with *Belliſarius*, that they might mutually oblige themſelves by the ties that are moſt ſacred among Chriſtians, never to betray or deſert one another, though their lives or fortunes were in moſt imminent danger: But for all theſe precautions, *Photius* believed he could not attempt any thing ſecurely; and therefore he concluded to expect, till *Antonina* was departed from *Conſtantinople*, and *Theodoſius* was returning to *Epheſus*; at which time, he thought he might with more eaſe, ſeiſe upon *Theodoſius* and all his vaſt treaſure. In the mean time, *Belliſarius* with his whole Army invaded *Perſia*, whileſt ſeveral things hapned at *Conſtantinople*, which I have related

related elſwhere, as the loſs of *John de Cappadocia*, &c. I only omitted on purpoſe, to ſay, That *Antonina* betrayed both the ſaid *John* and her Daughter, notwithſtanding millions of oaths and imprecations to the contrary. After this, ſhe ſent *Theodoſius* back again to *Epheſus*, relying extreamly upon the kindneſs of the Empreſs, who without any apprehenſion, removed into the Eaſt. It was not long before *Belliſarius* had taken the Fort of *Siſauranum*, and news was brought him, That his wife was at hand; whereupon he cauſed his Army to retreat, and ſeemed to prefer his own private intereſt, before the benefit of the Empire. True it is, There was another reaſon which moved him to diſcamp with his Army, and I have mentioned it in my other Books, but the arrival of *Antonina* contributed much: And this was one thing which I durſt not communicate in the Hiſtory which I publiſhed, as not thinking my ſelf ſafe, if I ſhould chance to be diſcovered.

From that time *Belliſarius* loſt much of his reputation, both with the Emperor and People, for having preferred his own private, to the affairs of the publick: That which did principally induce him, was, That the extravagancies of his wife lying heavy at his heart, he could not without ſome trouble, reſolve to quit the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire, as knowing, That the nearer he was, with the more eaſe he ſhould be able to revenge himſelf upon *Theodoſius*, as ſoon as his wife was arrived. In order thereunto, he commanded *Arethas*, with part of his

his Troops, to croſs the *Tigre*; but *Arethas* not executing his Orders, he returned into his own Countrey, without the honor of having performed his duty. *Belliſarius* reſolution was to keep himſelf within a league of the Frontiers, though the Fort of *Siſiranum*, which I mentioned before, was not above a days journey from the Frontiers, by the way of *Niſibe*; and by any other way, it was not half ſo far diſtant. In ſhort, had he paſſed the *Tigre* at firſt, with his whole Army, I make no queſtion, but he had been Maſter of all *Aſſyria*, and without any difficulty extended his Conqueſts as far as the City of *Ctéſiphont*; and before his return, might have delivered the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, and all the *Romans* which were priſoners; beſides, his unexpected departure, favored the Retreat of *Coſroes*, who was at the ſame time in *Colchis*. The caſe was thus, *Coſroes*, King of *Perſia*, and Son of *Cabades*, having ſubdued *Petra*, and performed all the exploits which I have mentioned in my other Hiſtories; his Army was much weakned and impoveriſhed, not only by its Engagements and Sieges, but by the inconvenience of the ways, (being over Mountains and almoſt unpaſſable Rocks) and by a Contagion (which carried off a great part of his Army) beſides the want of ſuch things as were neceſſary. In this juncture of them, news arrived out of *Perſia*, That *Belliſarius* having vanquiſhed *Nabades*, had taken *Siſiranum*, and in it *Beleſmaches*, and Eight hundred *Perſian* Horſe, and was marching with his Army in good order

directly

directly towards *Nisibe*, with design to besiege it: That another way he had sent a strong party under the command of *Arethas*, the chief of the *Sarrarius*, who had passed the River *Tigre*; so that the whole Countrey of *Assyria*, which before had never been subject to the Inroads of the Enemy, was at present infested, and become a prey to any that would invade it. Moreover, a Body of *Huns* which *Cosroes* had sent into *Armenia* (a Province belonging to the *Roman* Empire) had unfortunately encountred with the Troops of *Valerian*, and been almost utterly cut off. This news being brought to the *Persian* Camp, which was already perplexed with the incommodities which they had suffered a long time in the Countrey of the *Lazians*, caused them to apprehend, That if the Enemy should cut off the Passages, after all the Distresses and Calamities they had endured, they should again be reduced to a necessity of starving among the Rocks and Desarts, and their ruine be attended by the distruction of their Wives and their Children, and the inevitable Conquest of their whole Countrey, especially at a time when their Army was so afflicted with diseases. Hereupon they began to mutiny against *Cosroes*, and to upbraid him for having broken his Oath, and violated the Law of Nations, which is Sacred even among the *Barbarians*; they could not forgive him, that after a solemn Peace with the *Romans*, he had invaded their Territories, undertaken an unjust War against them, and attacked an Empire,

not

not only the moſt antient in the World, but ſo powerful, That they could not in reaſon hope to overcome it, though their Army was much more conſiderable then it was. Theſe diſcourſes had ſo prepared the minds of the *Perſians* for Sedition, that it was ready to break out, had not *Coſroes* applied a remedy in time, by reading the Letters which *Zaberganes* had received from the Empreſs, almoſt in theſe very terms.

Zaberganes,

YOu might eaſily perceive, when you were Ambaſſador with us, how ready we were to oblige you, and how little we diſputed any thing that was to be done in your favor. You have now an opportunity, effectually to anſwer our good opinion of you, and that is, by prevailing with King Coſroes *your Maſter, to continue that good intelligence with us, that the Peace did procure. I do engage, that the Emperor, my Husband, ſhall recompence any good office you ſhall do him, to the full; and let me tell you, he does nothing now without my counſel and approbation.*

When *Coſroes* had read the Letter, he declared to the cheif Officers of his Army, That he could not but wonder the *Perſians* ſhould call that Empire invincible, which was governed by a Woman; and by this means he put a ſtop to their mutiny: Nevertheleſs, being ſtill apprehenſive, leaſt *Belliſarius* ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes, he diſcamped immediately, and finding no oppoſition, he returned into his own Countrey without any impediment.

Belliſarius

Belliſarius being retreated into the Territories of the Empire, found that *Antonina* was arrived from *Conſtantinople*, and without the leaſt token of kindneſs, he cauſed her to be taken into cuſtody, and a Guard clap'd upon her: Many times it was in his thoughts to have put her to death, but he could never determine. I am of opinion his fondneſs was the cauſe, though others affirm, ſhe uſed charms and inchantments to render him irreſolute. In the interim, *Photius* arrived in great fury at *Epheſus*, having brought along with him *Caligonus* the Eunuch, who was *Antinonaes* great Confident, and privy to all her debaucheries. This *Caligonus* being brought in Chains, and well laſht by the way, confeſſed the truth in what ever was asked him: *Theodoſius* having notice of what had paſſed, retired into the Church of S. *John*, which is of greater veneration then any other in *Epheſus*; but that would not ſerve his turn, for the Biſhop (called *Andrew*) being corrupted with Money, delivered him up into the hands of *Photius*. On the other ſide, the Empreſs receiving advertiſement from *Antonina*, and fearing ſome ill accident might befal her, ſent orders to *Belliſarius* to come back with her to the Court. This order came no ſooner to the ears of *Photius*, but he ſent *Theodoſius* into *Cicily*, where his Army was in its Winter Quarters; To thoſe who conveyed him, he gave inſtructions to carry him as privately as poſſible, to deliver him into the hands of the Cicilians as ſoon as they were arrived, and to tell no body where they

they had diſpoſed him. *Caligonus* he took along with himſelf, and all the wealth of *Theodoſius*, and carried them to *Conſtantinople*: Then it was, that the Empreſs *Theodora* would give an example to all mankind, by recompenſing the ſervices of *Antonina*, by actions of greater cruelty, and crimes of greater infamy then her own. *Antonina* not long before had betrayed *John* of *Cappadocia* to the Empreſs; but the Empreſs out did her in the requital, For ſhe cauſed ſeveral perſons to be put into *Antoninaes* hands, who (notwithſtanding that they were innocent) were all of them put to death. In brief, many Friends and Relations, both to *Photius* and *Belliſarius* (whoſe only guilt was acquaintance with them) were drubbed and conveyed away where no body could ever hear of them; others were baniſhed by her, and for no other crime, but for being intimate with them. Among the reſt, there was one *Theodoſius* who had accompanied *Photius* to *Epheſus*, ſhe cauſed this *Theodoſius* to be apprehended, and having ſeiſed upon his eſtate, ſhe gave order to put him into a Dungeon where no day was to be ſeen, and made him be tied up by the Neck to a Rackſtaff ſo ſhort, that he was forced to continue in the ſame poſture, without being able to turn himſelf; ſo that he was forced to eat and ſleep, and evacuat as he ſtood, without any thing but his ſpeech, to diſcriminate him from a Beaſt. In this cruel condition he continued four Moneths; after which, (though the Empreſs gave him his liberty) yet his ſpirits being depreſſed

depreſſed with his afflictions, he died with the very thoughts of what miſeries he had ſuffered. She conſtrained *Belliſarius* to reconcile himſelf with his Wife, in ſpight of his averſion, and what ever he could do to prevent it. *Photius* had a thouſand ſtripes with a Stirrup-leather upon the Reins and the Shoulders, to make him confeſs what he had done with *Theodoſius* and *Caligonus*. But though he was much weakned and dejected with his uſage (having been naturally tender, infirm, and exceeding careful of his health, which care, till that time, had preſerved him from any conſiderable affliction) yet he would never forfeit his Oath, nor diſcover his intrigue with *Belliſarius*, though not long after it came out another way, for *Theodora* found out *Caligonus*, and returned him to *Antonina*; and having got intelligence where *Theodoſius* was, ſhe ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, and concealed him in her Palace. The next morning ſhe ſent for *Antonina*, and told her, *Dear* Antonina, *this day I have been preſented with a Jewel, I conceive not to be matched in the whole World: If you have a curioſity to ſee it, I am ſo far from refuſing you that priviledge, I ſhall think my ſelf happy to ſhow it.* *Antonina* not dreaming what it ſhould be, was impatient to ſee it, and the Empreſs entring into the Chamber of one of her Eunuchs, brought out *Theodoſius* in her hand. At the unexpectedneſs of the ſight, her joy put her into ſo ſudden an amaze, for ſome time *Antonina* was not able to ſpeak; but being a little recollected, ſhe made a thouſand ex-

preſſions of thankfulneſs to the Empreſs, called her excellent Miſtreſs, incomparable Benefactreſs, and the Preſerver of her happineſs in this World. *Theodora* kept *Theodoſius* in her Palace, and uſed all means poſſible to re-eſtabliſh him, and put him at the head of the Emperors Army, and in the mean time entertained him with all kind of delights; but Divine Juſtice (which ſooner or later, overtakes all ſuch criminals) ordered it otherwiſe, for he died not long after of a fit of the Cholick.

Theodora had her Dungeons ſo deep, ſo private, ſo remote, and ſo horribly dark, the night, and the day were not poſſibly to be diſtinguiſhed in them. In one of thoſe diſmal places, the poor *Photius* was kept cloſe along time, though (I know not by what good fortune) twice he had eſcaped. The firſt time he got into the Church of our Lady (which is of principal veneration in *Conſtantinople*) and threw himſelf before the Altar; but the Empreſs having notice, fetched him out by violence, and recommitted him to his Dungeon. The ſecond time he hid himſelf in a Vault belonging to *Sancta Sophia*, a place of no leſs eſteem among the Chriſtians; but ſhe made no ſcruple to force him from thence, there being no place ſo ſacred, that ſhe was fearful to violate, nay rather, ſhe boaſted and inſulted in her Sacriledges, were the places never ſo holy. The People and the Clergy abominated her impieties, and made a thouſand Imprecations againſt her that committed them; but neither the one, nor the other, had the cou-

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rage to oppoſe them. About three years, *Photius* had been recluſe in this manner, when the Prophet *Zachary* appeared to him in a Dream, required him to eſcape, and promiſed his aſſiſtance. This Viſion having encouraged him, he got out of his Dungeon as he could, and having paſſed unknown thorow hundreds of his perſecutors, he came at length to *Jeruſalem*, where (having ſhaved) he took the habit of a Monk, and evaded the cruelty of *Theodora*.

Belliſarius having neglected him in his perſecutions (though he had ſworn ſolemnly to aſſiſt him, and his ſufferings were only for his ſake) no wonder if afterwards God Almighty deſerted in him all his affairs. Being a while after ſent with an Army againſt *Coſroes*, King of *Perſia*, who was the third time ravaging the Provinces of the Empire, though he repelled him with honor enough, yet he was ſuſpected of Treaſon: For *Belliſarius* continuing in his Camp, inſtead of purſuing *Coſroes*, who in his retreat over *Euphrates*, had made himſelf Maſter of *Callinicum* (a very populous City) and taken many *Romans* priſoners in it, gave occaſion of jealouſie to the World, That it was either want of Fidelity, or Courage; beſides which miſcarriages, there was another accident which augmented his diſgrace. The ſickneſs being at that time in *Conſtantinople*, and many people dying, the Emperor fell very ill among the reſt, and a report was raiſed, that he was dead: The report being general, came at length to the Army of *Belliſarius*, and ſome of the cheif Officers began to talk, That if the

People of *Conſtantinople* were permitted to elect a new Emperor, they ſhould run a great riſque of being continued in the Army, as long as they lived, and never ſee their Countrey again. Not long after the Emperor recovering, the Officers of the Army began to impeach one another, and *Peter*, and *John Helluo* affirmed, That *Belliſarius* and *Buſez* were the Authors of that diſcourſe. The Empreſs having heard the accuſation, was ſo highly incenſed, that in a great paſſion, ſhe ſent for the cheif Officers to come back to *Conſtantinople:* Having inquired into the buſineſs, and diſcovered the Authors, ſhe ſent for *Buſez* into her Cloſet, pretending to ſpeak with him about ſome buſineſs of importance: There was a private priſon in her Palace, not to be come at, but by ſeveral turnings. Into that priſon ſhe cauſed *Buſez* to be put, where the poor Man (though he had been Conſul) was kept priſoner a long time, before it was known what was become of him: The Dungeon was ſo perpetually dark, he could not perceive when it was day, and there was no body to inform him, but a poor mute appointed to carry him his victuals, as if he had been a wilde beaſt; the whole World thought he was dead, and no one durſt mention, either him or his memory. When he had been in this manner, as it were, buried alive, two years and four moneths, and in meer pitty was inlarged; he looked like a man come out of another World, loſt his eye-ſight immediately, and began to ſuffer great infirmities in all parts of his body.

Belliſarius

Belisarius could not be charged with any crime, yet the Empress prevailed with her Husband to have him cashiered, and put *Martin* over his head, to command the Army in the East. Besides, she divided the Command of the Targetters, and the Pikemen, and the Guards, which belonged formerly to *Belisarius*, and were the readiest and best Disciplined Troops in the whole Army, among certain of her Eunuchs, and other favorites of the Court, who drew Lots for the command of the bravest Soldiers in the Empire; and by degrees she proceeded so far, as to forbid all the friends of *Belisarius* to have any future correspondence with him. It was an object well worthy compassion, and indeed not easily to be believed to see the Great *Belisarius*, who had commanded the whole Force of the *Roman* Empire, and signalized his Conduct and Valor in *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, creeping about the streets of *Constantinople* alone, without authority, or attendance, melancholly, dejected, and expecting every step to be knocked on the head. The Empress deputed one of her Eunuchs to seise, and bring to her Court a vast sum of Money which *Belisarius* had hoarded in the East.

All which, *Theodora* did in kindness to *Antonina*, who was then at a distance with her Husband; for she loved *Antonina* exceedingly, upon account of the service which she had done her in the destruction of *John* of *Cappadocia*: So that if ever *Belisarius* was to be eased of his misery, or readmitted into favor, the poor

man was not only to desist from doing ill to *Antonina*, but to own his life to her, and make himself a perfect engine and property of her triumph. *Belisarius* going to Court one morning, according to his custom, to pay his devoirs to the Emperor, and the Empress (though his equipage was but thin, dirty, and in very ordinary Liveries) he found them very sower and severe upon him, and the Buffoons and Rascallity of the Court, began to despise him: At night he went home, but in great fear, and looking behind him every step, expecting some body would have stabbed him. When he was got to his house, he went up to his chamber, and in great pensiveness he sate down upon his Bed: Those brave masculine thoughts which do usually present themselves to great Men, upon such occasions, were far from his mind; on the contrary, his fear had put him into a sweat, his terror into a trance; and he was in as great confusion, as the meanest caitiff in the World. *Antonina* knew nothing of the matter, and not imagining it in the least, was walking up and down the room, pretending indisposition, to take off her Husband from greater suspitions; when after Sun set *Quadratus* came from the Palace, to the house of *Belisarius*, and running up the stairs, presented himself suddenly at his chamber door, and sent in word he was come to him from the Empress. At the very naming of the Empress, *Belisarius* fell down backward upon the Bed, with his arms and his legs stretched out, and ready to receive his doom without

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any defence; ſo ſtrangely had his antient courage forſaken him: But *Quadratus* preſented him a Letter from the Empreſs which was almoſt in theſe very terms.

YOu cannot be ignorant, Belliſarius, *what you have done againſt me, and how highly you have offended; but my obligations to your Wife prevailed with me, to pardon your crimes, grant you your life, and give you hopes of enjoying your old fortune for the future: But you muſt know, it is your behavior to* Antonina *that muſt give me aſſurance of your intentions.*

Belliſarius was tranſported with joy at the reading of the Letter, and being deſirous that *Quadratus* ſhould be a witneſs in what manner he received it, he threw himſelf down in his preſence, before his Wife, and embracing her knees, and kiſſing her feet, he called her his ſafety and preſervation; proteſting, that for the future he would own himſelf, not only her Husband, but her Vaſſal and Slave. Moreover, the Empreſs having detained Three thouſand Livers of Gold, out of the ſum which had been taken from *Belliſarius*, ſhe returned him the reſt, which was the ſame meaſure had been uſed with *Gilimere* and *Vitiges*, whom he had conquered not long before.

The Emperor and Empreſs had caſt an ill eye for a long time upon the immenſe riches of *Belliſarius*, looking upon them as worthy to be added to their own Royal Revenue. They

complained; that he had kept to himſelf, great part of *Gilimeres* and *Vitiges* eſtate, not bringing it into the Coffers of the Emperor, as a thing of little or no value or concernment. However, they thought it not fit to diſcover their reſentment, becauſe of the many great things he had performed, and leaſt their methods ſhould be blamed in confiſcating the eſtate of a perſon, againſt whom there was no accuſation, nor any appearance of offence that might give any lawful occaſion againſt him. But the Empreſs knowing that he ſuſpected it, and had loſt his antient conſtancy, ſhe found out a way to ſecure that eſtate by an alliance, and that was by promiſing her Grand-child *Anaſtaſius*, to *Jane*, the only Daughter of *Beliſarius*. In the mean time *Beliſarius* requeſted that he might be reſtored to his charges, and return at the head of the Army, into the Eaſt, to make War upon the King of *Perſia*. *Antonina* on the other ſide clamored in the ears of the Empreſs, That ſhe would never conſent her Husband ſhould return into thoſe Provinces, where ſhe had ſuffered ſo many indignities, and been ſo barbarouſly treatted. The contrariety of their demands obliged the Emperor to make *Beliſarius* Maſter of his Horſe, and ſend him the ſecond time General into *Italy*, but with this condition, That he ſhould defray the whole charge of that War himſelf, without any expectation from the Emperor. Some there were, who ſuppoſed *Beliſarius* had come to this agreement with his Wife, and the Emperor, with deſign, when he was out of

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Conſtantinople, to put himſelf into a poſture of acting againſt *Antonina*, and the reſt, who had uſed him ſo cruelly: But the event manifeſted the contrary, for he forgot all that had paſſed, and inſtead of reflecting upon what he had ſolemnly promiſed to *Photius*, and the reſt of his friends, he became a very ſlave to his Wife, and was moſt deſperately enamored, though ſhe was already threeſcore years of age and upwards. Having deſerved the indignation of Heaven, he was no ſooner in *Italy*, but he began to find his fortune adverſe. In his firſt War againſt *Theodat* and *Vitiges*, though the deſigns he undertook (in that juncture) ſeemed raſh and unreaſonable, yet they hapned generally to ſucceed well, and had a very good effect. In his ſecond, he was judged a Man of good conduct, and one who underſtood how to take his meaſures aright, for he had been well acquainted with the ſtrength, and the weakneſs both of the *Goths*, and of *Italy*; but when things declined, and failed of the ſucceſs that was expected, the World began to quarrel with him, and his conduct, and he was ſo unhappy, as to confirm them by his future miſcarriage. Certainly the affairs of Man are not regulated by their own Reaſon (whoſe bounds are too narrow and contracted) but by the Wiſdom and Providence of God, who governs them as he pleaſes, though ſome (who are ſpectators of events, but know nothing of their cauſes) would attribute all to Fortune; but of that, let every one argue as he pleaſes.

After

After his second expedition into *Italy*, *Belliſarius* was forced to return with diſhonor, having been five years (as I have ſaid elſwhere) in diſtreſs, not knowing where to be ſecure, or retire with his Troops. *Totila*, how deſirous ſo ever he ſhewed himſelf to come to an engagement, could never bring him to a Battle; ſo great was the terror, as well in himſelf, as his Army: So that inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing the Emperors Affairs in *Italy* (which were in an ill condition) he loſt *Rome*, and ſeveral other places before his face.

In all this War, the Emperor ſupplied him not with one farthing of Money, which put him upon great exactions in *Italy*, inſomuch, that his thoughts were wholly applied to the raiſing of Money. He flead (as a man may ſay) all the *Sicilians*, the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, and indeed all *Italy* beſides: For of all who had the misfortune to fall under his power, there was ſcarce one that eſcaped the tyranny of his extortion, but he made him pay, and ſometimes for things done before he was born. At this rate he would have dealt with *Herodian*, he preſſed him for Money, and preſſed him with all manner of threats; but *Herodian* choſe rather to deliver up *Spoletto* (where he was Governor) to the *Goths*, not regarding the Fidelity which he had ſworn to the Emperor.

I think it not improper, in this place, to give an account of the difference which broke out about this time, betwixt *Belliſarius* and his Nephew *John*, the ſon of *Vitalian*; which difference

ence was the cauſe of great loſſes to the Empire of *Rome*. The Empreſs had ſo great an averſion for *Germanus*, and diſſembled it ſo little, that no body durſt ally themſelves with him, though he was the Emperors Brothers Son. In ſhort, he had ſeveral Sons, but none of them could marry whileſt *Theodora* was living: He had a Daughter likewiſe called *Juſtina*, which was already eighteen years of age, and unmarried; whereupon *Germanus* was conſtrained to propoſe a match betwixt the ſaid Daughter, and *John*, whom *Belliſarius* had ſent to *Conſtantinople*, though indeed in condition *Belliſarius* was much inferior to *Germanus*. The overture being accepted, it was thought neceſſary by mutual and inviolable Oaths, to oblige one another to uſe all poſſible means to conſummate the match; for they were jealous on both ſides, *John*, becauſe the Lady was above his quality; and *Germanus*, becauſe if he loſt him, he deſpaired of another. The Empreſs inraged at this alliance, plaid them a hundred tricks to have broke it off; but finding all of them fail, and that her menaces were not able to divert them, ſhe ſignified to *John*, that his life was in danger: Whereupon having order to return into *Italy*, he had no farther communication with *Belliſarius*, whileſt *Antinona* was with him in *Italy*, apprehending (with good reaſon) the deſigns of that wicked Woman; for it was too probable, and not irrational for him to ſuſpect, that the Empreſs had given her order to make him away, and it was the more credible conſidering the nature of *Antonina*, and the fondneſs

fondneſs of *Belliſarius*, who indulged his Wife in what ever ſhe deſired; ſo much was his love, beyond all limits of reaſon.

This fear being grounded upon ſo many appearances of truth, made a deep impreſſion in the mind of *John*. From that time the affairs of the Emperor went utterly to wreck, as wanting a perſon that was able to buoy them; for *Belliſarius*, finding the *Goths* extreamly ſucceſsful, and advance in all their undertakings, he deſired liberty to return out of *Italy*; which being granted by the Emperor, he took his leave of the *Roman* Troops without any trouble, and indeed of all *Italy*; the greateſt part of which, he left in the hands of the *Goths*. *Perufia* was at that time diſtreſſed by a long ſiege, and being taken whileſt he was in his journey to *Conſtantinople*, it endured all the miſeries to which Towns that are taken by Aſſault, are uſually expoſed: But the State was not unhappy alone, *Belliſarius* had his private misfortunes in his own family. The Empreſs *Theodora* employed the utmoſt of her power to accompliſh the match betwixt her Grandſon *Anaſtaſius*, and the Daughter of *Belliſarius*, obliging him to write continually to her Parents to expedite the buſineſs. The Parents to gain him, deſired it might be protracted till they returned to *Conſtantinople*. The Empreſs ſuſpecting their deſign, commanded them back, but they deſired to be excuſed, and wrote word they could not ſtir out of *Italy*. She perceived their cunning immediately, and ſeeing *Belliſarius* had no other children, and that his

his daughter would infallibly be heir to his eſtate, ſhe reſolved *Anaſtaſius* ſhould have her, let it coſt what it would; for ſhe began now to be jealous of *Antonina*, and not to place that confidence in her as formerly, apprehending, That as ſoon as ſhe was dead, *Antonina* would forget the friendſhip ſhe had ſhown her in all her exigences, and abandoning the Intereſts of her family, break off all the leagues and engagements betwixt them.

Theſe conſiderations put her upon an enterpriſe full of wickedneſs and impiety. She lodged the daughter in the ſame Chamber with *Anaſtaſius*, contrary to all Modeſty, and ſacred Ordinance: It was reported at the ſame time, that he had violated her privately, that the Emperor might not oppoſe himſelf againſt the Wedding, when it was ſo far advanced, as the loſs of her virginity. After which, *Anaſtaſius* having continued with her about eight moneths, they began to love one another, and their paſſion to grow ardent and ſtrong.

When *Antonina* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and the Empreſs was dead, ſhe pretended to be ignorant of what had paſſed, and not regarding what might be ſaid to the diſhonor of her daughter (ſo ſhe could find her another match) ſhe forced her to renounce *Anaſtaſius*; which rendered her the moſt perfidious Woman upon the Earth: Yet all that could not hinder, but ſhe got *Belliſarius* of her ſide, when he returned out of *Italy*. This it was which gave the World a perfect view of his humor and ſpirit. When he

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brake his engagements with *Photius*, and the reſt of his friends, he was eaſily pardoned, becauſe it was not thought ſo much the charms of his Wife, as the fear of the Empreſs, that made him violate his oaths. But when the ſaid Empreſs was dead, it was obſerved, that inſtead of thinking upon *Photius*, and the reſt, he ſubmitted himſelf intirely to the dictates of his Wife, and her confident *Caligonus*, he began to be deſpiſed, as a man of no courage, and to be laughed at as a fool. And theſe to ſpeak freely, were the faults of *Belliſarius*.

What *Sergius* the Son of *Bacchus* performed in *Africk*, I have mentioned elſwhere; and it was he who was the cauſe of the diſorders in that Countrey. He paſſed his Parole to the *Lencathians*, and confirmed it by a ſolemn oath upon the Evangeliſts, and yet made no ſcruple to break it. He cauſed fourſcore of their Commiſſioners, ſent to him about their affairs, to be ſtabbed, when there was not the leaſt ſuſpition of any evil deſign; yet he invited them to dinner, and cauſed them all to be ſlain, without any care or reflection upon his oath: And this was the cauſe, not only of the death of *Salomon*, but of the loſs of the *Africans*, and Imperial Forces.

After the death of *Salomon*, the remaining Generals and Armies ſhew no great deſire to fight, eſpecially *John*, the ſon of *Siſinius*, who appeared not upon any occaſion, till *Ariobindus* arrived in *Africk*. This was an effect of their hatred to *Sergius*, for beſides that, he was nice,

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and effeminate, and without courage; he was young, impertinent, angry with the whole World, and insupportably proud. But having married the Neice of *Antonina*, Wife to *Belisarius*, the Empress would not suffer him to be questioned, nor permit her Husband to turn him out of his Government of *Africk*, though it was visible enough, his affairs in that Province were in danger of ruine. She obtained likewise, that the Emperor dismissed and pardoned his young Brother *Salomon* for the murder of *Pagasius*, which hapned as follows.

Pagasius having redeemed *Salomon*, paid his ransom to the *Leucathians*, and brought the *Barbarians* home, returned to *Carthage* with *Salomon*, and a few Soldiers in his company. By the way he remonstrated to *Salomon* the wrong he had done, in having committed so great an offence, and that he ought to remember, That he was delivered out of the hands of his enemies by a particular providence. *Salomon* conceiving he had reproached him as a slave, and being exasperated, killed him upon the place, to requite what he had done for him in saving his life; and when he came to *Constantinople*, the Emperor discharged him of the fact, and gave him his pardon in writing. As soon as he was cleared of that danger, *Salomon* departed to see his friends in the East; but by an evident punishment inflicted by Divine Justice, he died by the way.

This being the passage betwixt *Pagasius* and *Salomon*, I shall return now to *Theodora* and *Justinian*,

Juſtianian, and give an account of their humors, their manner of conduct, and by what methods of Tyranny they afflicted the Empire of *Rome*.

Leo being in the Throne of the Empire, three young Men of *Illyrium*, called *Zimarque*, *Titibiſte*, and *Juſtin* (born in *Bederiane*, and accuſtomed to walk up and down the World) to avoid the extream poverty which they ſuffered, took a reſolution to put themſelves into the Army, and came on foot to *Conſtantinople*, each of them with an old naſty Coat on his back, and nothing with them but a few Bisket for their voyage. The Emperor having received them into pay, put them into his *Gardes du Corps*, becauſe they were very proper and perſonable men. When *Leo* was dead, and the Empire devolved upon *Anaſtaſius*, he ſent a brave Army under the command of *John de Boſſu*, againſt the *Iſſaurians* who were in Rebellion. After ſome few days march, the ſaid General cauſed *Juſtin* to be clapped in priſon, upon ſome enormity, with deſign to have had him executed the next day: But (as the ſaid *Boſſu* confeſſed many times ſince) he was diverted by a Viſion, which appeared to him in the night, in the ſhape of a more then ordinary Man, requiring him to ſet him at liberty, whom he had committed the day before. When *Boſſu* awaked, he regarded not his Viſion, and though it appeared again the next night, he took no more notice of it then before: But the third night being viſited again, the Viſion threatned him more fiercely then

then formerly, and told him, That when time ſerved, there would be great uſe of the priſoner, and his friends, and ſo commanded him to diſcharge him, or he would make him ſenſible of his diſpleaſure; and by this means *Juſtin* was preſerved. In proceſs of time, the ſaid *Juſtin* came into great credit with the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, who gave him the command of his Guards, by whom after the death of *Anaſtaſius*, he was choſen Emperor of *Rome*, though he was ſo old he was quite grey, and (which never hapned to the *Romans* before) ſo ignorant, he knew not one Letter of the Book; inſomuch, That it being the cuſtom for the Emperors to write all their Warrants under their own hands, he could neither write, nor ſubſcribe them, but left it to *Procbus* his Queſtor, who was continually with him, and gave out what Orders he pleaſed. That the Emperors hand might appear to every thing that was ordered, one of his Officers found out this invention; He took a piece of a Board, and ſhaving it very thin, he cauſed the Letters of the Emperors name to be cut thorow in Latine Characters; and when it was finiſhed, clapped it upon the Paper, where the Order was written, and giving the Pen to the Emperor, another took him by the hand, and guided it in the cuts, till his name was ſubſcribed; after which they retired, and their Orders were compleat, and in this manner *Juſtin* governed the Empire. His Wife (called *Lupicina*) had been a ſlave, was born a *Barbarian*, and having been bought by *Juſtin*, and ſerved

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him a long time in the nature of a Concubine, he married her, and ſhe lived with him to his dying day. *Juſtin* was not capable of doing his Subjects either good or hurt; for he was a Man of extraordinary ſtupidity and ſottiſhneſs, and extraordinary brutiſh. But *Juſtinian* his Sisters Son, who was young, and governed the State, brought more and greater evils upon the Empire, then were ever mentioned in all the Hiſtories of former times. He made no ſcruple of ſequeſtring any mans eſtate, nor murdering any mans perſon, and could without any remorſe give orders for the putting to death a great multitude of innocent perſons at once. He never executed the reſolutions that were taken, but on the contrary was ſo great a lover of Novelty, that he delighted to ſubvert and undo all things that were well ordered, with a word. During his Reign, as I have ſaid before in my other Books) there hapned ſo great a contagion quite thorow his Dominions, that few or none eſcaped who were infected, and few or none eſcaped without infection: But as to the Tyranny of *Juſtinian*, there was ſcarce a Subject of the whole *Roman* Empire but had had ſome experiment of it. This unhappy Prince (as if he had been ſent down from Heaven as a Plague upon his People) put ſome of them to death in a criminal way; and others he kept alive, but in ſuch deplorable poverty, they deſired a thouſand times to be delivered by the greateſt puniſhment he could inflict. Not contented that he had ruined and ſubverted the

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Roman Empire, he imployed his Armies for the Conqueſt of *Italy* and *Africk*, to involve thoſe two brave Countreys in the ſame calamities which he had brought upon the other Provinces that had ſubmitted to his Dominion. He was ſcarce ten days in Authority, before he put *Amantius* to death (who was the cheif of the Court Eunuchs) and many others, upon no other grounds, but becauſe they had ſpoke too liberally againſt *John*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which made him afterwards the moſt terrible Man in the World. About the ſame time he ſent for the Tyrant *Vitalian*, promiſed him (in the Emperors name) ſincere amity, obliged him to embrace the Chriſtian Religion; but growing jealous of him afterwards, and ſuſpecting he was not true to his intereſts, he cauſed him, and all his Relations and Friends to be ſtabbed in the middle of the Court without the leaſt compunction for the breach of his Faith, which is a ſacred thing among all Men.

As I have ſaid before, there were at that time two contrary factions among the people; of which, having gained the *Venetes*, and managed them along while, he had all the liberty he could deſire to moleſt and diſorder every thing as he pleaſed; ſo that having found the *Roman* Empire declining, he eaſily finiſhed its deſtruction, though the moſt ſeditious of that party, who ſerved him in the execution of his tyrannical deſigns, have paſſed ſince for the moſt moderate of all Men, becauſe they did not

abuſe that liberty to do miſchief, which was given them, as they might have done. Thoſe of the oppoſite party (which was called the faction of the *Praſinians*) committed ſeveral murders and outrages as they had opportunity, and it was in their power, though from time to time, ſome of them ſuffered privately very cruel puniſhments, which did but animate the reſt; for it is frequently ſeen, that injury does but exaſperate, and provoke people to betake themſelves to force; and the deſire of revenge carries them on to ſuch ill actions as they would not do, had they not been irritated before. The *Venetes* having got the priority, the *Roman* Empire was utterly overturned, and all things put into confuſion without poſſibility of recovery. The Cities and Towns were ruined, as if they had been pillaged by an Enemy, or deſtroyed by ſome Earthquake or Inundation; all things ran into moſt deſperate diſorder. Juſtice and the Laws were quite out of force, the Face of the Government was intirely changed, and in a little time all things ran headlong to ruine. The Factions began to be effeminate, to take delight in their Hair, and to cut it after a mode that was quite new to the *Romans*; they ſhaved not their Beards as formerly, but ſuffered them to grow long like the *Perſians*; they ſhaved the fore part of their Head to their very Temples, leaving it thick as poſſible behind, after the manner of the *Maſſagets*; and this kind of cut they called *The Mode of the Huns*. They made themſelves rich Cloaths, embroidered very magnificently,

ficently, and more coſtly by far then their conditions would bear, had not the Money they had gotten by their Violences, furniſhed them with wherewithal. The Sleeves of their Veſts were extream ſtrait at their Wriſts, but from thence to their Sholders, they were extraordinary wide, inſomuch, that when upon the Theater, or in the Circus when they ſtretched forth their hands, either in ſpeaking themſelves, or inciting of others, they expoſed that part of the Body, that Sots and Fools might be induced to believe it was the ſtrength and greatneſs of their Arm, which obliged them to wear them ſo large, not perceiving that the vacuity and wideneſs of the Sleeve, did rather diſcover the ſmalneſs of their Limbs. They took alſo the Doublet and the Hoſe, and ſeveral other faſhions from the *Huns*, and gave them the names which they retain ſtill among the people. At firſt they carried Daggers privately under their Coats, and meeting in little troops as ſoon as day was ſhut in, they took their Poſts, poſſeſſed themſelves of the corners of the Streets, robbed all that paſt by, took away their Cloaks, their Belts, their Gold Buckles, or what ever elſe they thought convenient for them. Some they killed after they had robbed them, that they might tell no tales, nor diſcover who had wronged them. All people were fellow ſufferers in theſe exorbitancies, but eſpecially thoſe who were not of the faction of the *Venetes*; finding they could not do otherwiſe ſecurely, they began to wear Claſps and Buckles of Copper upon their

Belts, and their Cloaths were made meaner then perhaps their qualities did require, leaſt the richneſs of their habits might bring their lives into danger, and every one went home before night, for fear of ambuſhments by the way. Theſe miſcheifs increaſed every day, and the ſeditious grew more inſolent, becauſe the Magiſtrates of the Town puniſhed not the guilty; ſo that crimes increaſed eaſily, by the ſecurity of committing them; for they were not ſevere enough in their corrections to reach at the Root, and many were hurried into them by the impetuoſity of their natures. And this was the behavior of the *Vènetes*; for the other faction, moſt of them changed their party, to revenge themſelves in their particular quarrels: Some hid themſelves where they could, others were maſſacred by their Enemies, or died of the puniſhments which the Magiſtrate inflicted. A good party of youth of the Town Joyned themſelves with that faction, not for any inclination to them for their power, but becauſe the vigor of their age, and the liberty they affected, prompted them thereto: There was no ſort of crime uncommitted in theſe times, nor none that was committed, was puniſhed as it ought. At firſt they ſlew only ſuch as were of the contrary faction; but by degrees they ſpared no body, but killed the innocent, and thoſe who had never offended them. They ſuffered themſelves to be hired for Money to murder the Enemies of other People, and their pretence was, That they were of the faction of the *Praſinians*, though

though they knew the contrary: They did not hide themſelves now to do their villanies as before: They waited not till night as they had formerly done, but committed their cruelties at noon day, in the midſt of the Town, and in the preſence of the moſt conſiderable Perſons; and they needed not to abſcond, for they were ſo far from fearing correction, That they eſteemed it a great honor and reputation to them, when they could kill a poor unarmed man, which they met by accident in their way, at a ſingle blow. During theſe diſorders, no man was ſecure of his life, every man was in danger every moment; no time, no place could protect them, for the factions cut the throats of whom they pleaſed in the moſt ſacred of their Temples, and during the moſt ſolemn of their Ceremonies. No man could truſt either his Kinred or Friends, for commonly they murdered moſt of them who truſted them too eaſily. No accuſation nor proceſs was made out againſt any man, and a million of perſons were deſtroyed without any oppoſition, and no body went about to ſuccor or relieve them. The Laws loſt all their authority, Contracts were void, and unprofitable, and all things were decided with violence and confuſion. In ſhort, the *Roman* Empire degenerated into a kind of mutuable tyranny, ſubject every day to change and innovation. The great Men were cowed, and dejected like ſo many ſlaves, and all for the fear of one Man. The Judges determined not of their Cauſes according to Law, but as the

parties were beloved or hated by the factions; for it was as much as the Judges life was worth, to reject the orders of the *Venetes*, or neglect to obey them. Several Creditors were forced to deliver up their Securities to their Debtors, and loſe all that they had lent them. Others were forced to manumit their ſlaves, young Gentlemen of the beſt Families of the City being of the factions, forced Moneys from their own Parents, and conſtrained ſeveral Women to ſubmit to the brutiſh appetites of their ſlaves. Children even in ſight of their Parents, were forced to ſuffer the effects of the brutality of the ſeditious, and married Women were no more exempted then they. It was reported, that ſome of theſe factions having met a Woman in no extraordinary habit, who was croſſing the Water with her Husband in a little Boat, to go into the Suburbs on the other ſide, they forced her out of the arms of her Husband into their Boat. The Woman whiſpered her Husband in the ear, and adviſed him not to be concerned, or fear that ſhe would do any thing unworthy of her, for ſhe was reſolved not to permit any thing that might have reflexion upon his honor; and a while after, as he was complaining to himſelf, and following her with tears in his eyes, ſhe threw her ſelf over board, and was drowned.

The violences uſed by the ſeditious in *Conſtantinople*, did not ſo much exaſperate the ſpirits of the people, as what *Juſtinian* himſelf did againſt the State; for the ſorrows of the afflict-

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ed are much diminiſhed, whilſt they have hopes of revenging themſelves on their unjuſt perſecutors by the help of the Magiſtrate. In effect, when hope keeps up the heart, preſent miſeries are eaſily ſupported: But when we are perſecuted by the Prince himſelf, who has all the power in his own hands, our ſufferings are more ſenſible, and we are more prone to deſpair, becauſe we have no hopes left to be revenged. *Juſtinian* was not only culpable in neglecting the cries of the diſtreſſed, but that in ſight of the whole World he gave protection to the young men of the ſedition, would have all people know it, gave them vaſt eſtates, had many of them about him in his train, and advanced ſome of them to the dignity of Magiſtrates. In the ſame manner as things were carried in *Conſtantinople*, they were managed in the ſmalleſt villages; ſo that it was like a Plague, which having begun in the capital City, diffuſed it ſelf, and ravaged the whole Empire, without any concernment in the Emperor, who took no notice of what was perpetrated in the *Circus* under his very Noſe; ſo ſtrangely ſottiſh was he grown. *Juſtinian* having neglected his affairs, put every thing in diſorder; no ſooner did he find himſelf in the Throne of the Empire, but he made it his whole buſineſs to drain and exhauſt the publick Treaſures which he had in his hand. For beſides the great expence which he was at for the reception of the *Huns*, who came frequently to viſit him, he gave them large preſents when they went away. From that time,

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the Provinces under the *Roman* Dominion were ſubject to the frequent inroads of the *Barbarians*, who returned often for their riches; for after they had once taſted the ſweetneſs of them, they would never be without them. He took a fancy to expend vaſt ſums of Money in building of Moles, and Stovadoes of prodigious extent, to break the force of the waves, and with immenſe pieces of Stone to put bounds to the Sea, and by force of his Money, to compel that Element to a ſence of his Empire. He ſequeſtred the eſtates of particular perſons, and ſqueezed them into his own Coffers, charging ſome with imaginary crimes, and perſwading others, that they had given him their eſtates. Some to ſave themſelves from death, having been accuſed of Parracides and Murders, and other fictitious crimes, gave all they had to the Emperor. Others in ſuit with their Neighbors, and finding it was like to go againſt them in ſpight of their Lawyers, made over their right to their Prince, only to make themſelves known to him, and pleaſe him, who took all without giving them a farthing; by which unjuſt kind of Champerty they many times ruined their adverſaries, when they thought themſelves ſecure. His ſtature was neither too great nor too little, well proportioned, and rather inclinable to be fat; his face was round and comely, his complexion was freſh, and ſome times when he had eaten nothing in two days. In a word, he was very like the Emperor *Domitian* (Son to the Great *Veſpaſian*) whoſe ill deeds were ſo terrible among the *Romans*,

mans, that their hatred continued after they had torn him in pieces; and by an Act of the Senate it was commanded, That he ſhould not be mentioned in any future Record, and that all his ſtatues ſhould be deſtroyed; and their command was ſo well executed, That there is not to be ſeen in *Rome* any inſcription of his name, unleſs in ſuch places where he is numbred among the other Emperors, nor does there remain in the whole *Roman* Empire, any of his ſtatues except one, which was left upon this following occaſion.

Domitian had a Princeſs to his Wife, ſo honorable and good, ſhe never did miſcheif, nor ſo much as offended any perſon alive, and always diſapproved the crimes of her Husband; ſo that being exceedingly beloved, after the death of *Domitian*, the Senate ſent for her, gave her leave to make her demands, and promiſed to grant them without difficulty. The vertuous Lady deſired liberty to bury the Body of her Husband, and erect a ſtatue of Braſs for him, where ſhe ſhould think it convenient, and the Senate complying, ſhe contrived that of which I ſpeak, to leave to poſterity a Monument of the cruelty of thoſe perſons who made away her Husband: She cauſed the pieces of his Body to be found out, and having joyned and placed them in order as well as ſhe could, ſhe ſhewed them to the Statuaries, who taking his Mold, caſt him afterwards in Braſs, and ſhe cauſed it to be ſet up at the Foot of the Mountain of the Capitol, on the right hand as you come from the

the Palace: And this is the only ſtatue in being, that gives us any remembrance, either of the Viſage, or Fortune of *Domitian*. By obſerving of this ſtatue, one may ſee the proportion and features of *Juſtinian*: His manners would be troubleſome to deſcribe exactly, and I queſtion whether I could do it or no.

He was crafty, and yet eaſie to be deceived; ſo that he might be ſaid to be cunning and weak, both together: He never told, nor ſignified any thing that was true, to any who had buſineſs with him; but by the malignity of his nature, he endeavored to circumvent every body, though he himſelf was continually expoſed to the fallacies of other people. This was the ridiculous temper of *Juſtinian*, in whom I find verified what a Peripatetick Philoſopher maintained formerly, *That as contrary colours accord well enough when they are mingled in the Paint, ſo contrary qualities do in the nature of Man.* And to ſpeak what I found in him to be true, *Juſtinian* diſſembled ſo perfectly well, that there was no man concealed his ſentiments ſo well, conducted a fraud with more dexterity, acted ſo ſubtilly in every thing, and put a better countenance upon his anger and indignation: He had no need of the aſſiſtance of joy or of grief, to bring the tears into his eyes, having ſome of them ready in reſerve upon every occaſion; though he cheated by continued falſhoods, yet it was with premeditation. When he had paſſed his Parole, and ſet his hand to what he had promiſed and contracted with his Subjects, he brake

brake all without any remorſe, as audaciouſly as thoſe ſlaves who are forced only by threats to the performance of their promiſes: He was inconſtant to his friends, and inexorable to his Enemies: He was equally greedy of Blood and of Money: He was a great lover of novelty and troubles: He was eaſily perſwaded when any miſcheif was to be done, but obſtinate and unmovable to any action that was good: He was excellent at inventing new crimes, but the name of vertue he abhorred. Theſe were his defects, beſides other vices (which I omit) and he ſurpaſſed in ſuch ſort the common Impiety of Man, that it might be ſaid, There was drawn what ever was bad out of the reſt of mankind, to make in his perſon a perfect compoſition of wickedneſs: For beſides what I have ſaid, his ear was always open to Informers and Traytors, and he impoſed great penalties and puniſhments upon ſuch as were accuſed: He never underſtood any cauſe that he judged, but contenting himſelf with the accuſation, he gave ſentence without any reaſon, and many times by one ſingle word under his hand, he gave orders (ſuddenly) that Towns ſhould be ruined, Cities ſhould be burned, and whole Countreys over-run; ſo that if one would examine all that has hapned in the *Roman* Empire from its foundation, and compare it with this age, he would finde more murders committed by *Juſtinians* order or permiſſion, then in all the ages before him: He ingroſſed the Eſtates of other people with incredible avarice: He ſequeſtred

queſtred them without any pretence, and when he had them in his power, he thought of them no more; but gave them away in extravagant largeſſes to the *Barbarians*, or ſpent them in ridiculous buildings; and to conclude in few words, He had no Money himſelf, and would ſuffer no body elſe to have any, diſcovering in that, that it was not covetouſneſs alone which excited him to thoſe things, but malice and envy; ſo that having exhauſted the whole Treaſure of the Empire, he was occaſion of the univerſal impoveriſhment of the whole World. And this as near as I could, is the Character of *Juſtinian*, if he may be deſcribed by the Pen.

I ſhall now ſpeak of his Wife, and give an account of her birth, education, manners, and by what accident ſhe came to be Empreſs, and how ſhe aſſiſted the Emperor towards the deſtruction of the Empire. There was at *Conſtantinople* a Man called *Acacius*, who had the charge of the Beaſts, which the Faction of the *Praſinians* cauſed to be kept for the ſhews in the Amphiteater. This *Acacius* died of the ſickneſs, under the Raign of *Anaſtatius*, leaving behind him three Daughters, *Comitone*, *Theodora*, and *Anaſtatia*; the eldeſt not above ſeven years old. Their Mother finding her ſelf a Widow, began to look out for another Husband, who might manage her affairs at home, and exerciſe her charge; but *Aſterius* being ſuperintendant of the ſhows which the *Praſinians* made, and being bribed by Money, took her Husbands office from

from her, and gave it to him who had corrupted him; for those places are perquisites to the superintendants, and depend wholly upon them. The Mother of *Theodora* seeing the people assembled one day, to behold the combat of the Beasts, presented her three Daughters before them with Crowns of Flowers upon their Heads, and Bracelets of the same, and begged of them that they would continue their Fathers office to them; but the *Prasinians* refused it by common consent. On the other side the *Venetes* having lost the officer which had the care of their Beasts, gave it to the Mother, and her three Daughters, to recompence what they had lost with the *Prasinians*. The Mother finding her self re-established, presented her Daughters upon the Stage one after another, as they grew up, and occasion was offered. *Comitone* the eldest was already famous among the rest of the *Courtisans*; and *Theodora* the second, waited upon her as her Maid with little Sleeves, and short Coats, carrying her chair upon her back when her sister went into company. But when she came to maturity, and her beauty began to be celebrated, her Mother devoted her to the Theater, and a while after she took her place among the *Courtisans*, which the Antients called the *Barefeet*, (for she played not upon the Flute, or any other Instrument, nor sung, but prostituted her self indifferently to all people that she met) at length she associated with a company of Players, where she personated all people, and represented Farces, and such kind of Comical Divertisements,

tiſements, for ſhe was naturally very pleaſant, and ſpoke things very well; ſo that in a ſhort time ſhe drew the Eyes of the whole World upon her, and eſpecially, becauſe having no ſhame, nor vertue, ſhe acted any part, how unhandſome ſoever. She was of ſuch a conſtitution, ſhe could take any injury or affront, and having complained to the full, ſhe would change her note, and laugh as if her heart would break. For this cauſe, when civil or vertuous people met her in the Palace or the Streets, they turned another way to avoid her, leaſt approaching her, or by accident touching but her cloaths, they ſhould have participated of her debaucheries; and they who encountered her in the morning, looked upon it as an ill Omen, and expected no good the following day; ſhe had a mortal animoſity againſt all Women of her own profeſſion.

This being her life for ſome time, ſhe came into *Syria* with *Hecebolus* of *Tyre*, Governor of *Pentapolis*, as an inſtrument of his pleaſures; but ſome difference falling out, he turned her off, and diſmiſſed her. Falling afterwards into diſtreſs, her neceſſities obliged her to her old way of proſtitution. At firſt ſhe came to *Alexandria*, aftewards (having practiſed quite thorow the Eaſt) ſhe arrived at *Conſtantinople*, having exerciſed a profeſſion that cannot with modeſty be named; nay, the Devil ſo wrought with her, that there was not a place in the whole Empire where *Theodora* had not left the marks of her immodeſty.

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Being educated in this manner, and her converſation being agreeable, ſhe became the moſt famous of all Women that ever were debauched. She had not been long at *Conſtantinople*, before *Juſtinian* fell moſt deſperately in love with her. At firſt he entertained her only as a *Miſs*, though he preferred her to the dignity of a Patrician: The fondneſs of *Juſtinian* (to whoſe pleaſures ſhe devoted her ſelf wholly) made her way eaſie to a moſt eminent degree of authority, and to the amaſſing and heaping up immenſe riches in a very ſhort time; for (according to the cuſtom of thoſe Lovers, whoſe Paſſion is extravagant) he gave her what ever ſhe deſired, and ſhe deſired what ever was to be given, and the redundancy of her wealth added new fewel to his flames.

This was the *Theodora*, which was *Juſtinians* colleague in the deſtruction of the State, and the ruine of the People, not in *Conſtantinople* alone, but in all places under the *Roman* Dominion, and the rather, becauſe being both of the party of the *Venetes*, they had put the Government into the hands of that faction, though indeed the evil was delayed for ſome time by this following accident.

Juſtinian was ſurpriſed with a long, and tedious ſickneſs, and it was reported in many places he was dead. During his indiſpoſition, that faction committed all the exorbitancies aforeſaid, and they proceeded ſo far as to kill a perſon of quality, called *Hypatius*, in the very Church of S. *Sophia*: The wickedneſs of that

action put the people into an uproar, they assembled, and went in a tumultuous manner to the Emperor *Justin*, (glad with all their hearts, that they had an opportunity, in which the absence of *Justinian*, permitted them to complain of the violences which they had suffered, and what miseries he had brought upon others.) This address of the people prevailed with the Emperor to send Orders to the Governor of the City called *Theodotus Cucurbitinus*, to inquire into the business, and bring the offenders to punishment. He observed his orders very punctually, for having made inquisition, and taken some of the offenders, he caused them to be punished according to the severity of the Law; some saved their lives by hiding themselves in Dens and by places, and were reserved to perish afterwards with the Empire it self. *Justinian* recovering miraculously of his distemper, conspired against *Theodotus*, and accused him of Magick; but failing in that design, by violence and tortures he constrained one of his friends to bring in a false accusation against him. The business coming before the Senate, and no body daring to oppose the vnjust designs of *Justinian*, it had like to have gone ill with him; for every body was fearful to speak his judgment, and they thought it sufficient to condole the misfortune of *Theodotus* whom *Justinian* had sworn to destroy. But *Proclus* the Questor, judged him innocent by his authority, and maintained that he was not worthy of death; so that all *Justinian* could obtain, was his banishment out of

of *Conſtantinople*, and to have him ſent to *Jeruſalem*, where having notice that there were plots againſt his life, he was forced to betake himſelf to a Monaſtery where he died: And theſe were the affairs of *Theodotus*.

The Factious after this, became the moſt moderate people in the World, for they made no uſe of the liberty they had at that time (more then ever before) of doing what miſcheif they pleaſed; in ſhort, a while after ſeveral aſſaſſinations were committed, but none puniſhed; for they who were appointed to make inquiſition, gave the criminals opportunity to eſcape, and by their illegal indulgence, left them at liberty to illude and laugh at the Law.

Whileſt the Empreſs *Euphemia* lived, *Juſtinian* by all the art he could uſe, could not obtain permiſſion to marry *Theodora*; for the Empreſs oppoſed his deſigns, though otherwiſe ſhe indulged him in every thing. That Princeſs had no evil inclinations, but being (as is ſaid before) of barbarous extraction, her manners were ſo ridiculous and dull, ſhe continued as incapable as at firſt, and never underſtood any thing of matters of State. Moreover, ſhe was not ſuffered (being Empreſs) to retain the name of *Lupicina* (which was infamous) but was called *Euphemia*; and not long after *Juſtinian* was recovered, ſhe died. The Emperor *Juſtin* was grown ſo old and ſuperannuated, he had loſt his judgment, and was expoſed to the contempt and deriſion of his ſubjects; ſo that all people paid obedience to *Juſtinian*, who by his de-

bauches, and the liberty he took to do what he pleaſed, made himſelf formidable to every body. Then it was he took a reſolution of marrying *Theodora*, and there being an old Law in force, prohibiting the Senators marrying with the Courtiſans, he prevailed with the Emperor to repeal that by a new one, and then he married *Theodora*, giving by his example, authority to any who deſired it, to marry with the firſt Courtiſan they fancied.

The next thing he affected, was to be arbitrary and tyrannical, diſguiſing his own violencies with the pretence of promoting the affairs of the Emperor, who, at that time, was not capable of them himſelf. He cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted Emperor of the *Romans*, in conjunction with his Uncle; but whether juſtly, or not, is a queſtion; for he conſtrained the Senate and the People by his menaces to give their conſent. *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* began to govern two days before *Eaſter*. In which, it is not allowed to ſalute any body, or pay any other ceremonious reſpect. Not many days after, *Juſtin* died, having Reigned nine years compleat, and left the Empire to *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, whoſe extraction being as I have ſaid, and her education and conduct, being as I have deſcribed, ſhe arrived at the Empire without difficulty, after *Juſtinian* had condeſcended to marry her, when it was in his power to have choſen for himſelf out of the whole *Roman* Territory, a perſon of the higheſt quality, the beſt education, eminent for modeſty, illuſtrious for beauty,

beauty, an immaculate Virgin, and in brief, one that had been accompliſhed in the higheſt perfection. Nevertheleſs, he choſe rather to take upon himſelf the common infamy of all Men, as not being aſhamed, nor making any ſcruple to admit to his Bed a Woman, who beſides other crimes, was guilty of the death of ſo many Children by her artificial Miſcarriages and Abortions. I ſuppoſe there wants nothing in my deſcription of *Juſtinian*.

This marriage is ſufficient to diſcover his temper. In effect, He who after the Commiſſion of ſo many ill actions, apprehends not the diſgrace, and is not concerned at what people ſay, nor at the contempt they have of him, does queſtionleſs believe there is no crime, but he may boldly commit, and undertakes the moſt deteſtable things with great impudence and audacity. There was not one of the Senators who oppoſed his deſignes, though they ſaw his marriage would inevitably be the ruine of the Empire: On the contrary, they diſpoſed themſelves to give *Theodora* the reſpect of a Diety. There was not one of the Prelates which expreſſed any regret for being obliged to call her their Soveraign: And thoſe who not many years before, had ſeen her upon the ſtage, addreſſed themſelves to her as her ſlaves, and held up their hands to her in token of their humility, when they came with any Petition: The Army made no difficulty to expoſe it ſelf for *Theodora* to all the perils, and incommodities of War. In ſhort, there was no man in the whole Empire,

that ſhowed any repugnancy, and the whole World contributed to the accompliſhment of a thing, which Heaven had long ſince decreed. I am of opinion, Fortune had a minde to make experiment of her power, and convince mankinde of it, by governing the affairs of the Earth in that manner, that they might obſerve there is no neceſſity of any cooperation of Man to the effecting of any thing, or that humane affairs are to be conducted by humane prudence, when her unjuſt power ſhould advance to the top of all earthly honors, a perſon which was involved in inſuperable difficulties; and (to ſpeak in a word) to ſhow that nothing was able to withſtand her power. She pleaſes herſelf ſometimes to create obſtacles, which afterwards ſhe ſurmounts in a moment, and paſſes where ſhe pleaſes; and at the ſame time, whileſt ſhe places ſome upon the top of her Wheel, others are at the bottom, and thrown down by her partiality and violence.

Theodora had an excellent face, and though her perſon was ſmall, yet ſhe was exceedingly well ſhaped; her complexion was neither too white, nor too red; her eyes were extream quick, and ſhe caſt them a thouſand ways at once.

To give a particular Narrative of all that hapned when ſhe was upon the Stage, we ſhould want time; but I conceive, what I have ſaid in few words of ſome of her actions, is ſufficient to give any one a notion of her manners and inclinations; I ſhall now repreſent what ſhe did with

with her Husband, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the Empire (for they did nothing without participation of one another, though they had ſtudiouſly pretended that they did not agree: But at length their hypocriſie was diſcovered, and it appeared, their animoſity was but deſign to keep their Subjects in obedience, whileſt they remained uncertain with which of the two to joyn, or to what ſide they were to repair.

The firſt effect of this counterfeit difference was to diſtract the Chriſtians, after which they made diviſion among the heads of the popular Factions. *Theodora* pretended great zeal for the Faction of the *Venetes*, permitting them to enterpriſe any thing againſt the contrary party, and themſelves to act what enormities they pleaſed. *Juſtinian* ſeemed in appearance to be angry, and to complain publickly, That his Wife ſuperceded his orders, and that he could not retain her in her duty; and ſometimes both of them aſſerted their authority together, *Juſtinian* ordered the puniſhment of the *Venetes* in criminal caſes; *Theodora* protected them, and objected againſt the Emperor the breach of his promiſe. In the mean time, the *Venetes* were the more moderate of the two, becauſe they did not abuſe the liberty which was given them, to that degree they might have done. In many of their Suits and Contentions, *Juſtinian* was on one ſide, and *Theodora* on the other, and it was a rule betwixt them, the weakeſt ſide carried it, and the ſum in diſpute went moſt into their

Pockets. *Juſtinian* received many perſons into the number of his friends, ſuffered them to exact upon the people, and commit many extortions to the detriment of the State; but when they had peeled what they could, and heaped up any conſiderable treaſure, as ſoon as *Theodora* gave the ſign, they immediately declined in favor. At firſt *Juſtinian* would promiſe to protect them, and to encourage them not to fear, for he would ſtick by them; but by degrees his kindneſs began to abate, and at length he referred them to thoſe who had none for them at all; for then it was *Theodora* began to play her pranks, and exerciſe her cruelty towards them; and the Emperor, as if he had known nothing that was againſt them, took their eſtates into his poſſeſſion, and kept them moſt injuriouſly when he had done.

By this pretended diſcord (which was only a copy of their countenance, and done only to amuſe the World) having divided the hearts of their Subjects, they eſtabliſhed themſelves more ſtrongly in their power and tyranny. When *Juſtinian* was arrived at the Empire, he began to ſubvert, and perfectly to confound the affairs of the Empire, introducing things forbidden by the antient Laws, and forbidding thoſe which the Laws had formerly injoyned; as if he had aſſumed the Imperial Mantle, and put the Diadem upon his Head for no other end, but to change the face of the Government. In ſhort, he aboliſhed all the Laws, all the Cuſtoms of the Magiſtrate, and all the Military Diſci-

pline,

pline, bringing in others in their places, not that they were better for the publick, or of any neceſſity themſelves, but only out of a deſire to innovate, or that by giving them his name, at leaſt they might appear new. He could never ſatisfie his inſatiable deſire, either of Money or Blood: But when he had deſpoild one of what ever could be got, he removed to another, and treated him at the ſame rate; and when he had done all, ruined his good Subjects, and diſhonored himſelf: How was all this immenſe treaſure employed? either in ridiculous preſents to the *Barbarians*; or in impertinent and unneceſſary building: Though he had ſoiled and polluted himſelf before, with the murders of ſeveral innocent perſons, he laid new deſigns againſt more, with intention to deſtroy them; and ſeeing the *Roman* Empire was in good intelligence with all Nations, by an unexampled fury he ſet the *Barbarians* together by the ears, and ingaged them in an expenſive, and pernicious War; and having ſent for the principal of the *Huns* (without the leaſt occaſion in the World, he gave them vaſt ſums of Money out of his ſottiſh liberality, to gain (as he pretended) their amity, and confirm it, as had been formerly done in the Reign of *Juſtin*. The *Huns* having got what they could, began to ſolicite the Heads of the other barbarous Nations, to fall upon the Empire, that they might ſell Peace likewiſe to him that was ſo ready to buy it. They needed not much perſwaſion, but taking the hint, they pillaged ſeveral Towns belonging

to

to the Empire; and yet all this while continued to take the Emperors pay. They were no ſooner gone, but others ſucceeded, who having plundered his Dominions, and carried away a moſt conſiderable booty, were rewarded by *Juſtinian* for their pains, who was grown the moſt liberal in that nature of any Prince in the World. In ſhort, from that very time, the *Barbarians* never gave over ravaging his Countrey, one party perpetually following at the heels of another: For thoſe people having many Princes among them, being numerous themſelves, and of different intereſts; this War (which derived its original from the extravagant Liberality of the Emperor) begun with one, was continued with another, and ſo perpetually carried on, that there was not a Mountain ſo little, a place ſo inconſiderable, nor a Cave ſo obſcure in the whole extent of the *Roman* Dominion, as to be exempt from the pillagings of theſe *Barbarians*: Some Provinces were ſo unfortunate as to be plundered five times over. I have ſpoken of all theſe things before in my other works, as alſo of the inroads the *Perſians*, the *Saracens*, the *Sclavonians*, and other of the *Barbarious* Nations made upon the Empire. But as I ſaid at firſt, I ſhall make it appear to be cauſed only by the ill conduct of the Emperor: He gave a vaſt ſum of Money to clap up a Peace with *Coſroes*; and when he had done, by a ſtupid piece of obſtinacy he brake it again, having uſed all his art to draw to his Party *Alamandare*, and the *Huns*, who were in alliance with the

the *Persians*, which I suppose I have described elsewhere well enough.

About the same time when he had kindled this War, and given occasion to such Seditions as would be the ruine of the Empire, and all to inrich himself, and fill his own Coffers, by filling his Dominions with slaughter and Blood, to compleat their destruction, he made use of this following invention.

In the *Roman* Empire there are several Sects of Christians (differing from the truth) which are called Hereticks, particularly the *Montanists*, *Sabbatians*, and others, all of them Hetrodox. *Justinian* commanded, That all of them should change their Belief; and to that, he compelled them, partly by threats, and partly by making their Children incapable of inheriting from their Fathers. In the Temple of these Hereticks (and especially in the Temples of the *Arians*) the riches was incredibly great, for there is no comparison betwixt the wealth of the Senate, or any other famous Body in the whole Empire, and that which belongs to them. There was scarce one of the consecrated Vessels, but were either of Gold or of Silver, adorned with great numbers of Precious Stones: The Priests, and inferior Ministers, had their Houses and Lands, and Revenues in all parts. In short, they wanted nothing that might be had, being people to whom the former Emperors had been always indulgent; they maintained several of the true Religion as their Servants, imployed them as they were Artists.

Justinian

Justinian seised upon the riches of all these Temples, and possest himself thereof, to the utter ruine of many of them. He had likewise his Agents abroad, who went from one place to another, and obliged all they found to change their Religion; at which, the Countrey people being offended, as at an act of impiety, opposed themselves against those Agents, but they had their revenge, and caused many of them to be slain. Some there were of them, who out of a deplorable superstition made away themselves, while the rest, in great throngs, fled out of the Countrey. The *Montanists* in *Phrygia*, betook themselves to their Churches, and putting fire to them, burnt themselves, their families, and all that they had; so that from that time, nothing was to be seen in the *Roman* Empire, but massacres and desolations, and people quitting their Houses. The Edicts of the Emperor put the *Samaritans* of *Palestin* into no less disorder; whereupon those where I was in *Cesaria*, and in other Towns, thinking it weakness and indiscretion, to expose themselves for so dangerous an opinion, quitted their Profession, and were called *Christians*; by which means they avoided their destruction, which otherwise would have been infallible; whilest others, whose Conscience was better informed, continued stedfast in their Faith: But a good party of the *Samaritans* (dissatisfied that they had been forced from the Religion of their Forefathers) a while after became *Manicheans* and *Politheists*. In the mean time, the *Peasants* took

Arms

Arms againſt the Emperor, and having made choice of *Julian*, the Son of *Sabarus*, to command them, they gave Battle to *Juſtinians* Army; for ſome time the Victory was doubtful, and a good while they fought before it could be known on which ſide it would incline, but at length the *Peaſants* were defeated, and moſt part of them ſlain, and their General *Julian* among the reſt; by report there were near 100000 Men killed upon the place. The greateſt of the loſs fell among the *Chriſtians*; for though they had no Men left to Cullivate their Lands, which were the fruitfulleſt of the World, yet they were forced to pay annual Taxes and Impoſitions to the Emperor, to a great value, which were extorted from them by all manner of cruelty.

After this, he turned his deſigns againſt the *Gentiles*, killed ſeveral of them, and diſpoſſeſſed the reſt of their eſtates: Some of them there were, who pretended to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, to avoid their torments, and to preſerve their eſtates; but they were afterwards ſurpriſed in the exerciſe of their Idolatry, and in the impiety of their Sacrifices. I ſhall now ſay what he did againſt the Chriſtians. After this by particular Proclamation, he prohibited the infamous and unnatural uſe of Boys, cauſing to be apprehended not only them who had been guilty ſince the publication of the ſaid Law, but thoſe who had been ſuſpected of it of old, and puniſhed them ſeverely without any Form of Juſtice, or Legal Proceſs: He condemned

demned them upon the testimony of one Witness, who for the most part was some Child, or some Servant which had been suborned against their Master; and when he had got one of those, he desired no farther evidence. Those who were convict of this crime, were exposed to all the mockery in the World, having their Privities cut off in a most cruel and ignominious manner. At first they acted not with the same extremity against them all, the heat of their fury extended it self more particularly against those who were of the faction of the *Prasinians*, extraordinarily rich, or in the displeasure of the Emperor. He could not endure Astrologers, but appointed the Magistrates (deputed for the punishment of Felons) to ride up and down upon their Camels thorow the City of *Constantinople*, and cause them to be beaten upon their shoulders with Rods, and exposing them publickly as a spectacle of contempt, though they were antient; and in other things, very honest men, to be reproached with nothing, but that having such knowledge in the Stars, they should remain in that Town.

The Tyranny of these Actions, caused great numbers of all sort of people to forsake their own Countreys, and betake themselves, not only into the Countreys of the *Barbarians*, but into such Nations as were at greatest distance from the Dominion of *Rome*. In every Province, and in every Town, great numbers were to be seen from several Countreys, which had been harrased by their Friends, with as much cruelty,

as

as if they had been their most implacable Enemies. And this course did *Justinian* and *Theodora* take to dispoil of their goods and estates, the greatest Persons in *Constantinople*, and all the rest of the Cities; and for the Senators, they were treated as I shall tell.

There was one of them called *Zeno*, Senator at *Constantinople*, and Grandchild to *Anthemius* (who had formerly had that Empire,) this *Zeno* they chose on purpose to make him Governor of *Egypt*. This Governor, without the least jealousie in the World, caused the richest of his Goods to be put on Board that Vessel which was intended for his own transportation, and deferred his departure for some days, to put a Board a prodigious quantity of Silver, Jewels, Plate inriched with Emeralds, and other pretious Stones of a very considerable value. The Emperor having notice of all, corrupted some of *Zeno*'s principal Servants, and by their means having caused all this vast wealth to be conveyed privately out of the Ship, he made them set it on fire in the Hold, and pretend to their Master that it hapned by accident, and had consumed all his great treasure which he intended for *Egypt*: Not long after *Zeno* died, and the Emperor seised upon the remainder of his estate, producing a fraudulent Will which all the World knew to be forged. By the same artifice he got possession of the estates of *Tatian*, and *Demosthenes*, and *Hilarus*, the three principal Men in the Senat. There were many others likewise, whose Heirs he made himself, not by any

any real Will, but by counterfeit conveyances: As for example, he made himſelf Heir to *Denis* (whoſe eſtate was near *Liban*,) and of *John*, the Son of *Baſil*, the Governor of *Edeſſa*, whom *Belliſarius* delivered againſt his will in hoſtage to the *Perſians*, as I have mentioned in my other Books. After he had been ſome time with the *Perſians*, *Coſroes* would not diſcharge him without a ranſome, pretending *Belliſarius* had not performed according to the Articles, upon which, the ſaid *John* was given in pledge: Whereupon his Grandfather being then living, he treated for his redemption, and had prepared Two thouſand livres of Silver, in order thereunto. The Emperor having advertiſement, and that the Money was conveyed, and lay ready at *Dara*, would not ſuffer it to be paid, but objected, That it was not to be permitted that the *Barbarians* ſhould go away with ſo much Money of the *Romans*; and whileſt that was in controverſie, *John* died of a diſeaſe of which he had been languiſhing a long time. When he was dead, the Governor of *Dara* (a Creature of the Emperors) counterfeited a writing from the ſaid *John*, by which the Emperor was made Heir to all his eſtate, and aſſured the World it was his laſt Will and Teſtament: But beſides theſe falſe Wills, and counterfeit Conveyances, it is ſcarce credible, how many people gave him their eſtates freely and *bona fide*. Before the Sedition broke out, by degrees he took away their whole eſtate from the Family of *Victoriatus*, which was reported very rich: But when

thoſe

those troubles began, he caused most of the Senators Goods to be sold, and of all descending from *Patrician* Families, he took the greatest part, and appropriated it to himself, leaving (as a false image of his clemency) the Tenths only to such as were in possession, and that only to continue them liable to his Taxes: For which, those poor people were used with great cruelty by his Officers and Collectors, and much dejected at the sadness of their life, which was so unquiet to them, they would have chose to have been put to death, which would have delivered them from a thousand calamities.

Hence it is, that these unmerciful Princes do not fall into my thoughts (or any bodies else of my opinion) as Men, but as evil Spirits, and pernicious Plagues, acting by common consent towards the destruction of all people, and driving on with uncontroulable fury, to ruine the whole World. In short, though of late ages, several persons have made themselves terrible, and were naturally of that humor, or brought to it by the consequence of affairs; as by the desolation of some Countrey, the destroying of some Town, or the depopulating some Province, yet there was never any went so near the subverting, not only the Government of the Empire, but the whole oeconomy of the World, and the species of mankind, as *Justinian* and *Theodora*. It is true, *Fortune* contributed to their designs, and added much to the miseries which were endured. For at the same time there happened so many ill accidents as Earthquakes, Sick-

 nesses,

neſſes, and Inundation of Rivers, that it was not unlikely, but what was done by the Emperor and Empreſs, proceeded as well as the reſt, from ſome ſupernatural agent. Moreover it was reported that *Juſtinians* Mother ſhould often declare to the principal of her Kinred and Friends, That the ſaid *Juſtinian* was not the Son of her Husband *Sabbatius*, nor of any other Man; but that before ſhe was with child, ſhe was viſited by a Spirit, preſent to her touch, but not ſight; which Spirit had coition with her, performed the office of her Husband, and vaniſhed like a dream. Some of *Juſtinians* Bedchamber, whoſe courage and confidence were greater then the reſt, affirmed, That as they lay in his Chamber, about midnight, inſtead of him, they ſaw a moſt deformed ſpirit in his place. There was one among them, who maintained, That he ſaw *Juſtinian* riſe out of his Bed (where he never lay long) and walk about the Chamber; and that in a ſhort time, his head diſappeared, and yet the Trunk walked on; and that whileſt he was in an amaze, and ready to have diſtruſted his own eyes, of which, he began to be jealous, he ſaw the head return, and joyn it ſelf to the body. Another declared, That as he was in the preſence of *Juſtinian*, he ſaw the head of that Prince change on a ſudden into a maſs, and confuſed lump of fleſh, where he could not diſtinguiſh eyes, or noſe, or any other marks of a face: This I write not of my own knowledge, but I had it from perſons who aſſured me it was true, and they had ſeen it with

with their own eyes. It was reported, That there was a Fryer of a moſt exemplary life, and of great eminence for it, who at the ſolicitation of his Brethren in the ſame Monaſtery, came to *Conſtantinople* with deſign of ſpeaking to the Emperor for the eaſe of the Neighborhood, which was undone by his tyranny and oppreſſion. That when he arrived, he entred into the Palace, and the Emperors Apartment, with as much eaſe as he could deſire; but as ſoon as he came near his perſon, he ſtarted from him, and returned to his Monaſtery in great haſt and confuſion, without being able to anſwer the Uſhers and other Officers who preſſed him to ſtay, and demanded what it was he feared. But being queſtioned by the Monks, he told them, *That he ſaw* Lucifer *ſitting upon the Throne of the Empire, and that he had not power to accoſt, or ſay any thing to him.* And indeed, who would not have taken for an evil ſpirit, or at leaſt for a fury, a Man, who though he loved more Women then any Man living, and that to the very height of laſciviouſneſs and debauchery, yet he ſcarce eat, or drank, or ſlept at any time; but having taſted and ſipped of what was brought to the Table, he walked about the Palace all the night after.

As to *Theodora*, thoſe who had lain with her when ſhe was a Comedian, declared, That whileſt they were in Bed with her in the night, there came ſpirits into the Room, and frighted them away. There was a young Wench which danced well, belonging to the *Veneter* of *Antioch*,

tioch, and called the *Macedonian*, who having great power with *Justin*, she writ to her, and made her an instrument in the death of many of the principal Officers in the East, and in the confiscation of their Goods. This *Macedonian* hearing *Theodora* complaining at her return from *Egypt* and *Africk*, of the ill treatment she had received from *Hecebolus*, and of a loss she had sustained in her journey, of a considerable sum of Money; telling her by way of consolation, *That* Fortune, *as she had taken them away, might, when she pleased, return them in greater plenty.* *Theodora* replied, *That she was not troubled in the least; for the night before she had seen a vision, which had bid her not concern her self, and told her, That as soon as she should come to* Constantinople, *she should be admitted to the Emperors Bed; and that by assistance which she should receive, she should marry him, and be put into possession of as much wealth as she could desire.* And this was the common report upon that subject.

Justinian (though he was as I have described) was of so easie access, and so civil in all his receptions, that no man was ever denied to speak with him; nor did he seem ever provoked or discomposed, when any person failed in their respects toward him, either by word or deed. The ruine and misery which he was preparing for other people, never made any alteration in him. He never expressed any Passion, nor the least resentment against those he had destined to destruction, but with a countenance peaceable and serene; and a voice without any commoti-

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on, he appointed the murders of an infinite multitude of innocent persons; the sacking of several Towns, and confiscation of Estates. In a word, by his looks no man but would have taken him for the gentlest, the most affable, and best natured Man in the World. But if any one come to implore his mercy, or to expostulate in behalf of one that was oppressed, then it was he would be angry, his colour rise, and his indignation against his subjects appear. He favored the Priests, who tormented their Neighbors; he gave any man thanks, who possessed himself of his Neighbors estate, and believed he did an act that was highly meritorious. When any controversie was brought before him, he believed himself bound in Conscience to decide it in favor of the Defendant, especially, if he had invaded the others estate, under pretence, That it belonged to the Church; in that case he thought he could not be unjust, let him do what he would, provided the cause went for the Ecclesiasticks: He himself gave to the Church, several Lands that he had usurped from other people (whether the lawful Proprietors were living or dead) to cover his impiety under the mask of devotion, and procure that the right owners should never be restored to them again; and many murders he committed, under the pretence of Piety and Religion. He endeavored likewise with great industry, That all people under his Dominion should be uniform in Matters of Religion, in order to which, he put many a man to death, as not believing it

homicide, to kill any of a perſwaſion contrary to his own. In ſhort, he took ſo much delight in the deſtruction of his People, that he was perpetually at *Theodora* not to ſuffer any opportunity to eſcape her, but rather to ſet her Brains a work to invent new; for having the ſame Paſſions, their Actions were the ſame, their Conduct the ſame, and their Wickedneſs the ſame, though they pretended great difference betwixt themſelves; but it was only to ſet their ſubjects at difference.

Juſtinians humor was as uncertain as the Wind; it was to be turned which way one pleaſed, only he was not to be turned from doing miſcheif, nor kept from ſhowing moſt infamous avarice. He was a great lover of flattery, and loved them highly, who perſwaded him he ſhould be taken up into the Heavens one day, and traverſe the Air, and the Celeſtial Spheres. *Tribonian* was with him upon a time, and told him, *That he was in great fear leaſt he ſhould be rapt up ſuddenly into the Heavens, when he little thought of it, and all, for his ſingular Piety:* And the poor Emperor was ſo weak, as to believe, That that flattery (or rather mockery) had ſomething in it that might be true.

If he had had experience of any mans vertue, he would be ſure to diſcommend him ever after, and to repre ent him a miſchievous and perfidious man; and yet he had no ſooner ſpoke ill of a man, but he praiſed him immediately, paſſing inconſiderately from one extream to another, becauſe the Characters which he gave,

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did not many times consist with what he desired other people should believe. His impressions of hatred or love, I suppose, I have sufficiently described in what I have said of his actions. His anger he pushed on to the highest extremity; and when once he was provoked, he was ever implacable. His friendship was as unconstant, as his malice was obstinate; he put several to death who were his Creatures, but was never reconciled where he had once taken a Pique. He delivered up into the hands of his Wife, or some third person, those who were thought the greatest in his favor, and to whom he had given the greatest testimony of his kindness, to be sacrificed, and murdered with torments, though they would never have deserved death, but for their kindness to him. In effect, *Justinian* was constant in nothing but cruelty and covetousness, and those two good qualities were not to be removed.

The Empress, when he scrupled what she desired, would wheedle him with hopes of large sums of Money from the business which she recommended. He made no difficulty to enact Laws, and to break them if it were to his profit, not judging of affairs according to the Laws which he had established, but according as the bribes were more or less, that he was to receive. When he plundered his subjects, and took away their Goods, though he knew he had no right; had suborned people to swear against them, or forged fraudulent Wills; he thought he did nothing amiss.

During the Reign of this Prince, there was no eſtabliſhed Faith or Religion; no Contracts or Agreements, of which, any Man could be ſecure. When he committed an affair to any of his Friends, he, who in the ſhorteſt time, ruined the perſons he was imployed to deſtroy, and returned him the moſt ſpoil, he was the welcome man to him, as having acted moſt unto his deſigns, and private inſtructions: But thoſe who were tender, and unwilling to do any man miſcheif, thoſe he abhorred when they came back, and not enduring that old merciful way which favored too much of the old *Roman*, (which he uſed to call lazy and phlegmatick) he never preferred them to any imployment afterwards.

In compliance with him, many perſons affected to ſeem bad, and leud in their converſation, though their temper and judgments were quite contrary to what they profeſſed. He pretended to forget what Contracts he had made, though they were ſealed and ſigned ſome of them with his own hand, and thought it very honorable. And this he did, not only with his own Subjects, but with the Enemies of the Empire, as I have delivered at large in my other Books.

He never could endure to be idle; he never eat or drunk as much as he could, but touched the meat, which they ſet before him, with the end of his fingers, and then bid them take away, for he had eaten enough: Beſides, the violence of his nature obliging him to be more fierce and inſatiable in his buſineſs, he did not

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eat some time in two days and two nights, especially in *Easter* week, in which he fasted two whole days, without any thing but Water, and wilde Grapes; and without sleeping above an hour, imploying the rest of his time in perpetual walking. There is no doubt, but if he had used his faculties to do good, the very parts wherewith Nature had endued him, would have raised the Empire to the highest degree of grandeur and felicity. But he perverted them quite, and imployed them wholly to the destruction of his subjects, and the ruine of their estates, applying all his watchings, and diligences, and labor, to augment the misery and desolation of his people, which was the more easie for him to compass, by how much his wit and invention was mighty quick in forging of crimes, and as prompt in punishing them when he had done: So that the good qualities, both in his body and mind, were of no use, but to make the people more miserable. At his first advancement, he had nothing of the Majesty of an Emperor; on the contrary, he framed himself more to the habit, discourse, and manner of the *Barbarians*. When he was to return an answer in writing, he did not commit it to the Questor, as formerly was the way; but he delivered it himself by word of mouth, though he spake his own language, as ill as a stranger. Afterward the people met in the Court of Justice with several impeachments, but no Judge was to be found to take cognizance of them. Secretaries of State were of the antient-

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eſt Offices in the Empire, yet he ſpoiled them quite; for he writ all himſelf, even to the private Sentences which the Magiſtrates were to give in the ſmaller Towns, leaving none of them at liberty to do any Man Juſtice thorow all his Dominions. He aſſumed all to himſelf out of a vain piece of arrogancy, and obſerved ſo good order in all determinations; that when he had heard one party, he gave his ſentence, and obliged them both to acquieſs; which he did, not out of any conviction or opinion that his Sentence was juſt, but for ſome advantage to himſelf, which was generally known; for his covetouſneſs had for a long time taken away his ſhame, and left him eaſie to be corrupted by the preſents of any Man.

It often hapned, that the Decrees of the Senate, and the Edicts of the Emperor, did interfere and claſh; for the Senate had but the ſhadow of an Authority without the freedom of giving their advice, or obſerving the rules of honeſty and vertue; ſerving only to fill up their ſeats, leaſt the antient form of Government ſhould be totally deſtroyed; yet no body durſt murmur in the leaſt.

But though their Power was inſignificant, the Emperor and *Theodora* examined all things themſelves, ſo that every thing paſſing by their orders; if any Man ſuſpected his Cauſe, he had no more to do, but to make a preſent to the Emperor, and he ſhould be ſure to have it diſpatched, how contrary ſoever it was to the Laws and Statutes that were formerly eſtabliſhed:

ed: Again, if any Man desired the reviving of any Law which he had revoked, he restored it without any difficulty, as done in War, when one recovers what he lost, by what means he can, be it in whose hands it will; so that in his Decrees there was nothing steady or just, all was full of error and uncertainty, and the Scales of Justice inclined not to that side where the right and propriety was, but where the presents were greatest; which were carried publickly into the Court where the controversie was to be decided, to be paid by way of advance, some time to the Judge, and some time to the other Magistrates; yet it was not without trouble, that the Mediators found time to present the Petitions of their Clients to the Emperor, or give him the true state of their affairs; for they were forced to make use of many false accusations, and bribe him well into the bargain. Being easily overreached, they applied to their several parties, and not acquainting them what had passed betwixt them and the Emperor, they drew from them vast sums of Money, and no body durst to oppose. The very Soldiers of the Guards which were to attend the Judges in the Court of the Palace, forced from them what judgments they pleased; so that no body was kept to his duty, but every man followed the impulse of his own fancy as his passion inspired. All Officers had lost their authority and places, and their very names were not suffered to be continued in their Registers. In a word, the *Roman* Empire was ordered as it had been governed

verned by a lewd child: But I ſhall forbear ſpeaking of it any further, as I propoſed in the beginning of this Book.

The firſt that adviſed the Emperor to this corruption in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, was one *Leo*, a Native of *Cilicia*, a Man of prodigious avarice, and the greateſt flatterer in the World. He was excellent at inſinuation, and wrought himſelf ſtrangly into the favors of the ignorant, and eſpecially of *Juſtinian*, by whoſe imprudence, and the aſſiſtance of his own perſwaſions, he prevailed, and put him into a way of ruining his Subjects.

This was the firſt who put that way into his mind, and when it was once tried, it was quickly eſtabliſhed, and never after laid aſide, but increaſed to that point, That if any Man had a deſire to overcome in any Suit, he had no more to do but to find out *Leo*, give him half of his pretentions to be divided with the Emperor, and his buſineſs was done before he went out of the Palace. By theſe means *Leo* got together a vaſt ſum of Money, beſides a large quantity of Lands, and all at the expence of the State, which he utterly deſtroyed. Contracts were not binding by any legal Obligation, by any Promiſe made, by any Writing given under Hand and Seal, by any penalty agreed upon, nor by any other ſecurity that could be given, but by Money, to be preſented to *Leo*, and the Emperor: And that way alſo, was not always certain, for *Leo* would take bribes on both ſides, and when he did ſo, he cheated one of them

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(no matter which) without any remorse or ſhame, believing it no diſhonor to him to affront, or injure any Man, ſo it turned to his profit; and as he was, ſuch was *Juſtinian.*

Theodora was ſo hardned in her inclinations to cruelty, that ſhe never offended by perſwaſion of other people; but what ſhe fancied her ſelf, ſhe purſued with all imaginable impetuoſity, and uſed all endeavors to bring it about. Never any body interceded for the pardon of any man that was condemned; ſo well were they ſatisfied, that neither length of time, cruelty of the puniſhment, the humbleſt and moſt importunate Prayers, nor the fear of Gods judgments were ſufficient to molifie her heart, or abate one jot of her fury. It was never ſeen, that any one who had once offended her, was ever forgiven, no not after they were dead; for the child that ſurvived, inherited the diſpleaſure of the Empreſs, with the Lands of his Father; and when he died, left it afterwards to his Sons. She was eaſily inraged, and that rage (not being to be withſtood) was the loſs of many a man. She had not ſo much care of her body, as of her pleaſure; and through her wanton mind, practiſed it with a tired appetite, when it was unneceſſary. She roſe very early in the morning to go into her Bath, where having continued a good time, ſhe eat her breakfaſt, and went again to ſleep. At dinner and ſupper there was no ſort of meat but ſhe would have, and that in abundance. She ſlept much, and often; in the day time, ſhe ſlept till night, and in the night,

night, till day: And in this irregularity, she believed the little time which she had, was sufficient to dispatch all affairs which concerned the whole Government of the Empire. If the Emperor imployed any man, without *Theodora*'s advice, the poor man was sure to die in disgrace, when he was once out of office.

Justinian was a very proper Man to expedite business, not only for his continual watchings (as I said before) but for the temper of his mind, and his easiness of access, which was so great; he gave people liberty to come to him, which he did not know, and that, not only to speak to him, but to converse with him in private. With the Empress it was quite contrary, For to her the greatest Lords could not be admitted, but with much attendance, and a great deal of trouble: When at length she vouchsafed to come to them, she came to them into a little close Chamber, where they were crammed together like so many Footmen, which she did to avert or prevent any evil designs. They received her all standing, and holding up their heads, with their faces uncovered, to be surveyed by the Eunuchs, who were going and coming all the while. Some indeed she admitted into her Chamber, but it was very rarely, and after they had waited sufficiently: When they did come in, they presently withdrew (by way of respect) having first kissed her feet; but they durst not deliver any Petition, nor begin any Discourse, till she vouchsafed to command them. The Senate went together most ignominiously and slavishly

ſlaviſhly to kiſs her feet; and the *Roman* Empire loſt much of its magnanimity and ſplendor, partly by the eaſineſs of *Juſtinian*, and partly by the inſolence of *Theodora*, who thruſt her ſelf into all affairs, and obſtructed their ſucceſs.

This difference there was betwixt their humors, but in covetouſneſs and murder they agreed well enough: Neither of them knew what it was to ſpeak truth, but on the contrary, both of them were great inventors of lies. If any one was in diſfavor with *Theodora*, and had committed any fault, how little ſoever, from that very time, ſhe would accuſe them of ſomething or other, which perhaps never came into their thoughts, and aggravating it ſo highly, That ſhe would charge others with confederacy, and never reſt till ſhe had delivered them up into the hands of Juſtice; and when the Judges met, they knew well enough that their ſentence muſt be accommodated to the cruelty of *Theodora*. Judgment being given and executed, and all the goods ſeiſed (let the party be as great as he will) ſhe cauſed him to be drubbed, and afterwards either baniſhed him, or put him to death. On the other ſide, if any of her favorites tranſgreſſed, and were guilty of aſſaſſination, or any other crime (either in raillery, or by way of threat) ſhe took off the Informers, and ſtaid the proceſs. She had a way of turning things of greateſt importance into ridicule, mocking and drolling upon them, as if they were in a Play; and ſhe acting them as formerly upon the Stage.

Stage. There was a perſon of quality, (who had been along time (and was grown old) in ſeveral charges and imployments) but his name I ſhall forbear, as being unwilling to do him that diſgrace, as to leave it to poſterity upon Record, for ſo diſhonorable an action. This Gentleman, I ſay, not being able to recover a good round ſum of Money, which he had lent to a friend of the Empreſſes, addreſſed himſelf to her for Juſtice, and that ſhe would be a means he might be reſtored to his right. *Theodora* to keep up the intereſt of her friend, commanded her Eunuchs to incompaſs the *Patrician* when he came; to obſerve what ſhe did, and ſecond her ſinging whenever ſhe ſhould begin. When the *Patrician* was introduced into her Chamber, he threw himſelf down at her feet (as the cuſtom was) and with tears in his eyes, began his Harangue.

Madam, ſaid he, *The Condition of a Patrician is more then ordinarily miſerable, when reduced to want; for what would draw upon other people pitty and compaſſion, brings contempt upon a Gentleman, and makes his calamity the greater: When other people are in neceſſity, and acquaint their creditors therewith, their miſery makes them leſs miſerable; but when a Gentleman is in diſtreſs, and cannot pay his debts, he is aſhamed to own it; and if he can prevail with himſelf to do that, who will believe him? The World will never believe we are poor, and if they do believe it, farewel our dignity and reputation. This Madam is my caſe, I owe Money, and I have Money owing me; for my*

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own part, I would cheat no body, it would not be ſuitable to my quality; but my debtors are not of my mind, for not having had my birth nor education, they are not ſo careful of paying, but ſeek out all ways to defraud me.

My moſt humble requeſt therefore is, That you would vouchſafe me your favor in ſo juſt a cauſe, and reſcue me from the misfortunes with which I am incumbred, and by no fault or provocation of my own.

This was his Speech to the Empreſs, who inſtead of anſwering, began to ſing, *O Patrician, you have a very great rupture*, and all her Eunuchs joyned with her in the Song. The Senator perſiſting in his Supplications, and adding new Reaſons to his former, *Theodora* replied in the ſame Dialect, and her Quire of Eunuchs ſtruck in with the *Chorus*, and made up the Conſort. At length the poor Gentleman, much afflicted at ſo cruel a piece of deriſion, made his reverence to the Empreſs as was uſual, and retired.

A good part of the year, *Theodora* reſided in the Suburbs upon the Sea-ſhore, and moſt commonly in that part called *Herroteum*, where her ſervants and attendants, which followed her perſon endured great incommodity; not ſo much by the dearneſs of Proviſions, but by the dangers which they frequently incurred in paſſing the ſtreight, by the great Tides, ſudden Inundations, or the ſurpriſes of Sea-monſters, which are frequent in that place: But they conſidered not theſe dangers, if they could but add any

thing to the divertiſement of their Miſtreſs, and enjoy the delights and pleaſures of her Court. I ſhall now conclude my Relation of her practiſes, to deſtroy ſuch as ſhe had any prejudice againſt, that I may not ſeem to have undertaken a work without end.

After *Amalaſontha* had laid down, and renounced the Government of the *Gothiſh* Affairs, and had (as I have ſaid in my other Books) expreſſed an inclination to another kind of life, and to come, and live privately at *Conſtantinople*. *Theodora* conſidering the great extraction of that Princeſs, her quality as Queen, her ſingular Beauty, her excellent Wit, and above all, her admirable Wiſdom; ſhe did not queſtion, but ſuch extraordinary qualifications, would have ſome effect (to her diminution) upon the unconſtant nature of her Husband; but ſhe diſcovered nothing of her apprehenſion, till ſhe had taken her meaſures aright.

Being aſſured of one of her Creatures called *Peter*, ſhe perſwaded *Juſtinian* to ſend him Ambaſſador to *Amalaſontha*; the Emperor, when the ſaid Ambaſſador took his leave, in order to his paſſage into *Italy*, gave him ſuch Orders, as I have mentioned in my other Books; but the Empreſs (of whom, at that time, I durſt not ſpeak what I knew to be true) gave him particularly in charge, That above all things, he ſhould contrive, and procure the death of *Amalaſontha*, and promiſed him great rewards, if he compaſſed the buſineſs. The Ambaſſador, with all diligence purſued his voyage into

into *Italy*, incited by the great hopes he had of riches or preferment (for men are not naturally prone to miſcheif, without Foreign temptation) as ſoon as he was arrived, he obliged *Theodat* to kill *Amalaſontha*, but I do not know upon what pretence.

After ſo great ſervice, *Peter* was advanced to very great Offices, and enjoyed them with great authority, but with the hatred and deteſtation of the whole World: And this trick *Theodora* plaid the poor *Amalaſontha*.

Juſtinian had a Secretary of his Cloſet, called *Priſcus*, a *Paphlagonian* born, and a Man very eminent and exact in all kinds of villany; by his conduct and humor, he was a likely Man to inſinuate with his Maſter; and he did it ſo effectually, he became the only favorite. The Emperor made no queſtion, but the friendſhip had been mutual, inſomuch, that in a ſhort time he got together unjuſtly an incredible eſtate. The Empreſs not being able to brook his inſolence and pride, to ruine him, began to accuſe him to the Emperor, and charge him with crimes; but not ſucceeding in that, ſhe cauſed him to be ſurpriſed and ſent away ſuddenly in a ſhip, when he little thought of it; and having ordered him to be ſhaved, ſhe forced him to turn Prieſt: In the mean time, the Emperor carried himſelf as he had been privy to the plot, and did not ſo much as inquire into what part of the World poor *Priſcus* was gone, nay, I am perſwaded he never thought of him after, unleſs it was, when he ſeiſed a ſum of Money of

his, which he had left behind him. *Theodora* had a suspition of one of her Servants called *Areobinde*, who was a stranger, but from his very youth had given great marks of an excellent disposition, and had been made Master of her Wardrobe. To punish a crime, of which she imagined he was guilty, she caused him to be beaten with Rods with extraordinary cruelty, though (as was reported) she had a great kindness for him; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot tell, nor I believe, any body else. For when *Theodora* designed to have any thing kept secret, to conceal it from the knowledge and memory of man, she so threatned and frightned the instruments in the action (which never any Tyrant had done before) that they never durst mention it to the very nearest of their Relations: On the other side, there was nothing done by those, for whom she had a prejudice, but she knew it immediately; for there was not a considerable Family, but she had her spies in it, who told her not only the discourse but the very words which every man spoke; and when she had a mind to punish any one, and no body know it, if he were a *Patrician*, she sent for him privately, and dilivered him up to some single person of her Confidents, whom she had selected to be the instrument of her vengeance, with instruction to carry him to the remotest part of the Empire. Having received her commands, the Officer bound the poor man, muffled his face, and then putting him a Shipboard in a dark night, he conveyed him accor

according to directions, where he delivered him to another with Orders, to ſee him kept ſafe and cloſe, till the Empreſs ſhould think fit to commiſerate him; and there after he had led a miſerable life a long time, the continuation of his ſufferings, did many times put an end to them.

There was a young Gentleman called *Baſien*, (of illuſtrious extraction, and of the *Praſinian* faction) who in his diſcourſe and raillery, having been too bold with the Empreſs, knowing ſhe was incenſed, fled into the Church of Saint *Michael* the Archangel: But as ſoon as ſhe had notice, ſhe ſent the Pretor of the People, who ſeiſed upon him, not upon the ſcore of his fawcineſs with the Empreſs, but as one that was guilty of Buggery. At the ſame time, in which he was raviſhed from the Church, the Officers put him to ſuch intolerable torments, that the People aſſembled in multitudes together, not being able to ſee under ſuch inſupportable tortures, a perſon of his youth and quality, whoſe perſon had been brought up ſo delicately, and ſo unaccuſtomed to ſuch barbarous ſufferings, eſpecially when being ready to die, he cried out, and with grievious ſhrieks, implored their compaſſion: But the unmerciful Woman perſiſted in her cruelty, and cauſed his puniſhment to be redoubled, till at laſt his privy parts being cut off, he died under their hands (though he was neither tried, nor condemned) and his eſtate was confiſcated to the Emperor: By degrees the fury of this *Megera* grew ſo great, that when

his, which he had left behind him. *Theodora* had a ſuſpition of one of her Servants called *Areobinde*, who was a ſtranger, but from his very youth had given great marks of an excellent diſpoſition, and had been made Maſter of her Wardrobe. To puniſh a crime, of which ſhe imagined he was guilty, ſhe cauſed him to be beaten with Rods with extraordinary cruelty, though (as was reported) ſhe had a great kindneſs for him; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot tell, nor I believe, any body elſe. For when *Theodora* deſigned to have any thing kept ſecret, to conceal it from the knowledge and memory of man, ſhe ſo threatned and frightned the inſtruments in the action (which never any Tyrant had done before) that they never durſt mention it to the very neareſt of their Relations: On the other ſide, there was nothing done by thoſe, for whom ſhe had a prejudice, but ſhe knew it immediately; for there was not a conſiderable Family, but ſhe had her ſpies in it, who told her not only the diſcourſe, but the very words which every man ſpoke; and when ſhe had a mind to puniſh any one, and no body know it, if he were a *Patrician*, ſhe ſent for him privately, and dilivered him up to ſome ſingle perſon of her Confidents, whom ſhe had ſelected to be the inſtrument of her vengeance, with inſtruction to carry him to the remoteſt part of the Empire. Having received her commands, the Officer bound the poor man, muffled his face, and then putting him a Shipboard in a dark night, he conveyed him accord-

according to directions, where he delivered him to another with Orders, to see him kept safe and close, till the Empress should think fit to commiserate him; and there after he had led a miserable life a long time, the continuation of his sufferings, did many times put an end to them.

There was a young Gentleman called *Basien*, (of illustrious extraction, and of the *Prasinian* faction) who in his discourse and raillery, having been too bold with the Empress, knowing she was incensed, fled into the Church of Saint *Michael* the Archangel: But as soon as she had notice, she sent the Pretor of the People, who seised upon him, not upon the score of his sawciness with the Empress, but as one that was guilty of Buggery. At the same time, in which he was ravished from the Church, the Officers put him to such intolerable torments, that the People assembled in multitudes together, not being able to see under such insupportable tortures, a person of his youth and quality, whose person had been brought up so delicately, and so unaccustomed to such barbarous sufferings, especially when being ready to die, he cried out, and with grievious shricks, implored their compassion: But the unmerciful Woman persisted in her cruelty, and caused his punishment to be redoubled, till at last his privy parts being cut off, he died under their hands (though he was neither tried, nor condemned) and his estate was confiscated to the Emperor: By degrees the fury of this *Megera* grew so great, that when

ſhe reſolved upon the deſtruction of any Man, neither the Sanctuary of the Church, the interceſſion of the people, nor any other contrivance in the World, was ſufficient to preſerve him. She took a pique againſt another called *Diogenes*, born in *Conſtantinople*; and in no leſs favor with the Emperor, then with the reſt of mankind; being of the *Praſinian* party, ſhe determined his ruine, and having ſuborned two of his ſervants, ſhe cauſed them to accuſe him of Sodomy. But that being an affair which could not be clandeſtinely puniſhed, and he a perſon of dignity and imployment, ſeveral conſiderable men being deputed to the examination of the buſineſs, they rejected the teſtimony of his ſervants as uncapable of giving evidence, both in reſpect of their condition, and the minority of their age. The Empreſs offended with their proceedings, cauſed one of *Diogenes* Confidents, called *Theodorus*, to be committed to one of her Dungeons, and would have perſwaded him to have depoſed againſt his friend; to which end, ſhe made uſe of flatteries, prayers, threats, and tortures. but finding none of them ſucceeded, ſhe commanded his head to be bound hard about with a Cord, not doubting therewith but to have twiſted out his eyes, but the poor Gentleman choſe rather to endure whatever could be inflicted, then to tell a lie; which though it might have ſaved himſelf, muſt have ruined his friend. Hereupon the Judges acquitted him, as not finding any proof ſufficient to condemn him.

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This was the cruelty which she exercised upon these people, for I have spoke before of the manner in which she treated *Belisarius*, *Photius*, and *Busez*. There were two *Cilicians* of the faction of the *Venetes*, who in a mutiny attempted the person of *Callinicus*, Governor of the second *Cilicia*, and killed the Master of his Horse (who endeavored to defend him) in his presence, and before all the people; being convicted of this, and several other murders, he caused them to be apprehended, and their heads cut off as they deserved. Which piece of Justice coming to the ears of *Theodora*, to show her passion for the party of the *Venetes*, she caused the Governor to be crucified in the same place where the Malefactors had been executed, though he was innocent, and had that office. The Emperor pretended to be much concerned, pitied his misfortune, and with tears in his eyes, complained heavily of *Theodora*, and gave out a thousand threats against the instruments in that action; yet he made no scruple to seise upon his estate, and appropriate it to himself. *Theodora* likewise caused all the common Women to be punished, banishing Five hundred of them at one time, for prostituting themselves at a certain place on the other side of the *Bosphorus*; and having clapped them into several Nunneries, she constrained them to an honester course of life in spight of their teeths; but some of them threw themselves down a Rock, and preferred a voluntary death, before a life so contrary to their inclinations.

There were at *Constantinople* two young Sisters, not only illustrious by the Consulship of their Grandfather and Father, but by a long descent of Nobility, as being of one of the cheif Families in the Senate. These two young Ladies having lost their Husbands betimes, devoted themselves to perpetual Widowhood. *Theodora* abhorring their vertue and pious way of living, chose out from among the dregs of the people, two the most execrable persons that could be found, and designed them to be their Husbands. Having notice of the Empresses intention, apprehending she would force them, they fled into the Church of Saint *Sophia*, and entring into the holy Bath, they held fast by the Fountain: But the Empress plagued them so many ways, and kept them in such want of necessary things, that they were constrained to marry them, to deliver themselves from their distress: And in this manner *Theodora* shewed her reverence to the Sanctuaries; and the two Gentlewomen who had been courted by several persons of their own quality, were married to two fellows, poor, miserable, infinitely below their condition, and in the presence of their Mother, who was by, weeping and lamenting all the while. It is true, afterwards *Theodora* abhorring what she had done, endeavored to make them amends by advancing their Husbands to the detriment of the publick: But all that would do no good; they were incapable of consolation, seeing their Husbands act with such insupportable cruelty against the Emperors subjects; for *Theodora* regarded

regarded not the dignity of the Magiſtrate, the intereſt of the State, nor any other conſideration in the World; ſo ſhe could but fill her coffers, and ſatisfie her inſatiable humor.

When ſhe was a Comedian, *Theodora* was got with child by a perſon of her acquaintance, but perceived it not till it was late; after ſhe had tried all ways to make her ſelf miſcarry, and none of them ſucceeded by reaſon ſhe was too far gone; ſhe troubled her ſelf no farther with theſe unprofitable remedies, but was fairly brought to Bed. But her gallant underſtanding ſhe was highly offended that her lying in had hindred her from getting of Money, knowing the temper of the Mother, and being in ſome fear for the life of the Child, he took it, named it *John*, and carried it with him into *Arabia*, whither of a long time he had reſolved to retire. When *John* was grown up, his Father fell ſick, and finding he ſhould die, he told his ſon who was his Mother, what was his fortune, and in few minutes departed. *John* having performed his laſt duty to his Father, not long after removed to *Conſtantinople*, diſcovered the buſineſs to ſome of the Officers of the Empreſs, and intreated them to introduce him to his Mother. The Officers not imagining, in the leaſt, ſhe could do any thing that was inhumane againſt him, repreſented to her that her ſon was in Town. The wicked Woman fearing it might come to the ears of the Emperor, cauſed him to be brought to her, and having received him very kindly before thoſe who preſented him,

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without any hesitation, she delivered him into the hands of one of her executioners; but what became of the poor Creature, no body could tell, for he was never seen since, no not when his Mother was dead.

Under the Reign of this cruel Princess, there was scarce a Woman which did not lie under some scandal, and indeed most of them were as bad as they were reported, having all possible liberty to transgress against their Husbands, and come off always unpunished as oft as they were prosecuted for adultery: Their way was to apply to the Empress, who would be sure to take care their sentence should be quite contrary to what it ought, the Women sent home acquitted of their crimes, their Husbands taken into custody for false accusations, which they were unable to prove, and condemned to pay sometimes twice as much as ever they had with them; and where that was not to be had, corporal punishment was inflicted, and they continued not only in prison, but in irons, as long as they lived; which to consummate their sorrows, they were permitted to see their unchast Wives, in the embraces of their rivals, who as a reward for their crimes, received offices and preferments from the Empress. Hereupon many who feared that kind of usage, and had no fondness for her stripes, and her tortures, connived at the incontinence of their Wives; and that they might not be publickly surprised, they gave them all opportunity they could desire.

Theodora was grown to that authority in the Empire, that alone ſhe created all the Prelates, and Magiſtrates, and having abſolute power in her hands, ſhe managed it ſo well, there was not in all the Offices of the Empire, one good Man, whoſe Conſcience would not ſuffer him to obey her in her pernitious deſigns. She ordered it ſo, that all marriages were of her making; not a Man had the choice of his own Wife, but every one married, not (as the very *Barbarians* do) her he liked beſt, but her the Empreſs was pleaſed to command. Many times on the wedding night, ſhe would go her ſelf in perſon, tear out the Bride out of Bed, and turn away the poor Bridegroom, and meerly upon pretence it was done without her knowledge. This was her practice with ſeveral people, particularly with *Leontius* the Referendary, and *Saturnin* who had married the Widow of *Hermogenes*, who died not long after ſhe was married.

Saturnin had a young Neice, free, of an honorable Family, and at age for a Husband, and this Lady, *Cirillus* her Father gave *Saturnin* in marriage after the death of *Hermogenes* his Widow. The wedding cloaths were bought, and all things prepared, when on a ſudden *Theodora* cauſed *Saturnin* to be ſeiſed and clapped into irons, and afterwards in ſpight of his tears, his complaints, and interceſſions, ſhe forced him to marry *Chriſomale*, a Dancer, and one of the commoneſt Courtiſans in Town; for *Theodora* had no greater favorites then *Chriſomale* and *Indare*,

Indare, who having been formerly her Companions upon the Stage, she had made them her Colleagues, and cheif Ministers in Matters of State.

Saturnin having lain the first night with his new Wife, and found her otherwise then he expected, discovered to one of his Confidents, that he had married a person who was no Maid; his complaint being brought to the Empress, she caused him to be secured by his own servants, whipped like a School Boy, upbraiding him all the time with his sawcineſs with his Wife, called him perjured Rascal, and having seen his backside well torn with the Whip; she advised him to keep his Tongue in his Mouth, and not talk with that liberty for the future.

In my other Books, I have already declared the punishment which she inflicted upon *John* of *Cappadocia*, revenging upon him the injuries he had done privately to her, and not any thing that he had acted publickly against the State; for she passed by a thousand greater Delinquents then he, and never medled with them at all.

This *John* of *Cappadocia* was a great opposer of *Theodoraes* designs, and had often accused her of great crimes to the Emperor; so that once he was in some hopes of making a difference betwixt them. (This is the truth of the story, and what I proposed principally to communicate in this Book.) In short, after she had sufficiently plagued the said *John*, she banished him into *Egypt*, but that being too little, she persecuted him still, and watched

watched him narrowly to find out new matter againſt him: Four years after, having apprehended two of the *Praſinian* party who were in the Sedition at *Cyzique*, and accuſed of being acceſſary to the aſſault upon the Biſhop, ſhe imployed, to corrupt them, the cruelty of her menaces, and the greatneſs of her promiſes; and one of them frighted by her threats, and inveigled by her promiſes, impeached *John* of *Cappadocia* for murder, as ſhe deſired. The other could not be brought to give any ſuch evidence, though they tortured him ſo cruelly, he was thought to have been dead; by means of the conſtancy of that Man, ſhe had but one witneſs, and could not compaſs her ends. However, ſhe cauſed both their right hands to be chopped off, one becauſe he would not ſwear falſly againſt his Maſter; and the other, to terrifie him leaſt he ſhould diſcover her deteſtable intrigues, being vainly deſirous, as it ſhould ſeem, to conceal thoſe practices which ſhe acted at the very Bar, in the ſight of all the World.

If *Juſtinian* paſſed for a Fury in the ſhape of a Man, it was not without reaſon, conſidering the miſcheifs which he brought upon all people: For the actions of a Man diſcover his Nature and Power, it would be more eaſie to number the Sands upon the Seaſhore, then the people which *Juſtinian* ruined. For my own part, having well conſidered the Countreys that he deſtroyed and depopulated, I do aſſure my ſelf they were more then two millions of Men, which periſhed by his cruelty and oppreſſion.

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In effect, he dispeopled the whole Tract of *Africa* in such sort, That in several days journey thorow that Countrey, it was a wonder to meet one single man, and yet there were in his days 160000 *Vandals* bearing Arms, besides Women, Children, and Servants. Besides which, who can number the ancient inhabitants of that Countrey which remained in the Towns, manured the Fields, and exercised Trades and Marchandise, of which, I my self have many times seen an incredible quantity. The Natives in *Mauritania* were more numerous then they, and they were all extirpated with their Wives and Children. The greatest part of the *Roman* Army perished there likewise, and with them all the Auxilliary Troops of their Allies; so that I am of opinion, it may be affirmed without extravagance, That in that Countrey alone, he was the destruction of above a million; and all, because after he had defeated the *Vandals*, he took no care to establish his Empire in those parts, and fortifie his party by indulging the Natives, but called away *Belisarius* upon pretence, that he designed to make himself King; a thing he never thought of, nor was it any way convenient for him. But what ever he pretended, the true cause was, that he might have opportunity to pillage more freely, and ruine without obstruction, the whole Coast of *Africa*: And to speak truth, the Officers which he sent, acquitted themselves very faithfully of their Commission from him; for under the new names of Imposts, and Duties, they seised upon the

the beſt and richeſt part of the Countrey. This Emperor, who could not contain himſelf in one and the ſame ſtate, and ſeemed to be born to put all things in confuſion, forbid the *Arians* the exerciſe of their Religion, and deferred always to ſend ſupplies to his Army; till at length they began to mutiny, and ſo many Seditions were ready to break out, as would certainly have indangered the peace and tranquility of the whole Government.

He diſpeopled *Italy* of its Inhabitants, much more then he had done the Coaſt of *Africa*, which was three times of greater extent; from whence a probable computation may be made of the numbers which he occaſionally ruined; for I have elſwhere ſpoke of the original of his Wars in *Italy*.

The ſame exactions that he uſed in *Afriek*, he uſed likewiſe in *Italy*, having ravaged all by the means of certain receivers which he called *Logothetes*: Before the Wars in *Italy*, the Empire of the *Goths* extended from *Gaule* or *France*, as far as the confines of *Dacia*, or the City of *Sirmium*; and when the *Roman* Troops were in *Italy*, the *Germans* poſſeſſed the beſt part of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and the Countrey belonging to *Venice*. *Sirmium* and the Countrey adjacent, were in the hands of the *Gepides*: All this vaſt tract of Ground was depopulated in the Raign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, partly by War, partly by Famine, partly by the Plague, and by other evils that are inſeparably concomitant with War. *Illyrium*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, the *Gherſoneſs*, and all the

the Provinces from the entrance into the *Jonique* Sea, to the very Walls of *Constantinople*, were cruelly spoiled under the Dominion of *Justinian*, by the annual incursions of the *Huns*, the *Sclavonians*, and others. I do verily believe, that in every of these inroads, what of those who were left behind, and of those who were carried away prisoners, there perished above Two hundred thousand *Romans*. And this is most certain, That in that Countrey which before was the most populous in the World, there were fewer people then in the uninhabited Deserts of *Scythia*, and this was the effect of the Wars in *Europe*, and *Africk*. *Asia* likewise was not without her sufferings; for the *Saracens* (during those Wars) having extended their Arms from *Egypt*, as far as the Borders of *Persia*, and made themselves Masters of the Provinces which were under the Dominion of the *Romans*, so harassed them with such constant cruelty, that there was not a person to be seen, and the numbers which were killed, or transplanted, were infinite.

The *Persian* made three incursions into the Lands of the Empire, under the conduct of *Cosroes*; and where ever they came, they ruined the Towns and Countreys; unpeopled them of their Inhabitants, and carrying the greatest part away with them prisoners, they put the rest to the Sword; but being afterwards got into *Colchis*, they made considerable devastations, one after the other, as it had been in imitation of what the *Laziens* and *Romans* had done

done there before; but neither the *Persians* themselves, the *Huns*, the *Sclavonians*, nor other of the Barbarous Nations which invaded the *Roman* Empire, could ever carry back their Armies whole and intire. They lost many Men in their Conquests, in their Rencounters, Sieges, and pitched Battles, in which, *Fortune* was not always favorable to their side; so as they became sensible of *Justinians* fury, as well as his own Subjects. *Cosroes* also (as I have said elsewhere) was a man of a turbulent spirit, yet *Justinian* was always the aggressor, and served as a Bonte-feu to the conflagrations which brake out; and in the consequence, consumed most of his Countrey. To be short, in the affairs which he mannaged, he never conducted them according to the times and conjunctures, but did every thing improperly, during the whole War; and in times of Peace or Cessation, his thoughts were wholly taken up in contriving which way he might trouble his Neighbors. He invaded them bluntly, without declaring of War, but his preparations were always so backward (by reason of his extream covetousness) he seldom succeeded; and instead of applying himself to the prosecution of his designs, he was for the most part taken up in Metaphisical Notions about the Nature and existence of God: Nevertheless, he kept his Armies constantly on foot to execute his cruel and tyrannical commands, never suffering them to come to any engagement with their Enemies, his avarice not permitting him to allow them what was necessary to over-

come them; so that in *Justinians* Reign, the Land was not only besprinkled, but overflown with the Blood of the *Romans*, and all other Nations in the World.

These were evils which succeeded upon the War at that time in the Territories of the *Roman* Empire, but we shall find as many murders committed in the Cities, if we consider what was done by the Factious, who had their quarrels and combats quite thorow the Empire; and indeed, how could it be otherwise, seeing no man was punished as he deserved; because one faction adhered to the Emperor, and neither the one, nor the other, had patience to be at quiet: One of them finding themselves backed and supported by the Emperor, puffed up with vanity, believed they might hazard all securely, the other knowing the Emperor was their Enemy, grew desperate upon an opinion that they could be no worse, because they had nothing left already to loose. Hereupon they meet frequently in small Parties, and fought several little Battles; sometimes they met in Squadrons to fight, and sometimes hand to hand in single duels; sometimes also they would lie in wait for one another, and murder one another as they found opportunity. There was not a day passed, but a thousand cruelties were exercised on both sides for two and thirty years together, and continued without any intermission: Oftentimes the Governor of the Town would put some of them to death, but for the most part, his severity was exercised against the

the *Prasinian* faction, besides which, so many *Samaritans*, and Hereticks were put to death, that the whole Empire seemed to be overflowed with Blood.

These things which I have now mentioned in short, and inlarged upon in my other Books, were acted in the Reign of this Man, or rather of this Devil, and were purely the effect of his malice and rage: But for the things of which I am now speaking, he did them by a power which I never understood. To be brief, in his time the Empire was afflicted with several judgments, which by many people were attributed to the evil genius which attended him; but others looked upon them more rationally, as the effect of the Divine displeasure, and that God provoked, by the sins of the people, had permitted him and his instruments to oppress the whole Empire with all these mischiefs. The River *Scyrta* overflowed *Edessa*, and drowned all the Inhabitants; the *Nile* overflowed all the Fields of *Egypt*, but not retiring as formerly, it brought great miseries upon the Inhabitants, which I have related before; *Lydne* also being overflown, all *Tarsis* lay for several days together under Water, and it went not away, till it had brought irrepairable damage upon the Inhabitants: Several Cities were ruined by Earthquakes, as *Antioch*, the chief City of the East; *Selucia*, a Town not far from it; and *Anazarbe*, a great City in *Cilicia*. Besides these, *Ibere*, *Amasis* the cheif City in *Pontus*, *Polybot*, a Town in *Phrygia*; that Town which the In-

habitants of *Pisidea*, called *Philomide*, *Lycnide* in *Epirus*, and *Corinth*, and populous Towns, were ruined, and for the most part subverted by Earthquakes, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants killed. After this the Plague (which I mentioned formerly) began to rage, and swept away half the people which were left. And these were the calamities which they suffered in the days of *Justinian*, when he governed the Empire, at first under the authority of his Uncle *Justin*, and then after he came himself to the Throne.

I shall now tell how he possessed himself of the wealth of the whole World; but first it will not be amiss that I give a relation of a Dream, which a person of great quality had, when *Justinian* first entred upon the management of Affairs.

He affirmed, *That he seemed to be on that side towards* Chalcedon, *and that he saw* Justinian *in the middle of the streight, swallowing up all the Water of the Sea; and that after he had drunk up that, he rested upon the shore to drink up the dirty and stinking Rivers, which received all the Jakes and Common-shores, both in* Constantinople *and* Chalcedon, *and dis-imbogued them into the said streight.*

And this he assured us was his Dream, and he was a credible person, of an Illustrious Family.

Furthermore, when *Justin* was advanced to the Throne, *Justinian* found his Coffers very well furnished; for his Predecessor *Anastasius*,

was

was the Man of all the Emperors, the moſt provident, and the moſt proper for the Conduct, either of a State, or a private family. This *Anaſtatius* apprehending (as it hapned afterwards) that his Succeſſor finding little Moneys in his Treaſury, would ſqueeze and moleſt his ſubjects to ſupply himſelf; therefore he left his Exchequer very well provided, both with Silver and Gold. But *Juſtinian* exhauſted it in a ſhort time, imploying part of it in impertinent Buildings, which he erected unneceſſarily to keep out the Sea, and part in extravagant preſents to the Barbarians. Which Treaſure the moſt debauched and profligate Emperor would have been much troubled to diſſipate, though his profuſeneſs had continued a hundred years together: For the Treaſurers who had the charge of the Publick Stock, under the Emperor *Anaſtatius* affirmed, That in the ſpace of Twenty ſeven years, which was the time of his Reign, he had ſaved by his frugality Three hundred and twenty thouſand Livres of Gold, which *Juſtinian* conſumed in the days of his Uncle, as I have hinted elſwhere: Beſides which, it is incredible what vaſt quantities he extorted from his ſubjects, during his Reign, by moſt horrible oppreſſion, forcing the whole riches of the Empire into his own Cheſts by all imaginable ways, and all the cruelties that could be invented. So that it might be ſaid, he was a great Gulf that ſwallowed up all the wealth of his ſubjects, to diſgorge it among the Barbarians. After he had ſpent the Treaſures of the State,

he began to caſt his eyes upon the riches of particular perſons: He ruined ſeveral wealthy perſons both in *Conſtantinople*, and other places, charging them with crimes, of which they were not guilty: Some he accuſed of Idolatry, others of Hereſie, others of Sodomy; ſome of having raviſhed the Nuns, ſome of Inceſt, ſome of Sedition, ſome of inclination to the *Praſinians*, and ſome of High Treaſon: So that by his forged wills, and his pretended gifts, he made himſelf heir, as well to the living as dead. I have told before, how he made uſe of *Victoriatus*, to put himſelf into poſſeſſion of the Lands belonging to the Senate, which in his Reign happened to be Seditious; and how he acted (before their Sedition brake out) to hedge in, and unite to his Revenue, the Eſtates of particular Men: But it is not to be admired, if it be conſidered, That by his continual preſents he inriched all the Barbarians in all the quarters of the World, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, as far as *Great Britain*, and other remoter places, of whom, we never had heard any thing, and ſaw their Ambaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*, before we knew of what Countrey to call them. Theſe people when they once found *Juſtinian* ſo liberal, they came to viſit him at *Conſtantinople* from all parts of the World; and he (good Man) much pleaſed at what ought to have troubled him, overjoyed to ſee them in his Court, as a thing of mighty importance to him, drained the Treaſure of the Empire, and diſtributed among them what was remaining of his Buildings towards

wards the Sea, and ſent them all home with very magnificent rewards. So that the wealth of the *Romans* ſeemed to be decreed wholly for the Barbarians, either by the preſents which were made them, their inroads into the Empire, the ranſom of their priſoners, or the ſums they paid for purchaſing Peace, or perhaps a Truce, and that of no long continuance; and this was ſignified by the Dream which I mentioned before: But beſides theſe, he had ſeveral inventions to poſſeſs himſelf by degrees of all his ſubjects eſtates, of which, I ſhall give a particular as well as I am able.

He inſtituted a new Magiſtrate among the people, and inveſted him with juriſdiction over thoſe who ſold ſlaves in their Shops, to whom the ſaid Officer gave Licence to ſell what they pleaſed, upon the payment of a yearly Rent to the Emperor. He obliged the Citizens to buy all they wanted in the Market, where they paid thrice as much as in other places; and though Commodities were racked never ſo high, and the buyer never ſo much cheated, it was not permitted to ſue him that had cheated him, becauſe the greateſt part of the gains went either to the Emperor or Magiſtrates. Thoſe who bought any thing, were in the ſame danger of being couzened by the deteſtable induſtry of the Magiſtrates Guards, and the abominable inventions of the Merchants, whoſe impunity gave them encouragement to cheat ſecurely, not only in the prices of their Ware, but in changing the Goods: Afterwards *Juſtinian* ſet up

several Monopolies, that is, he gave priviledge to some particular persons to sell certain particular Commodities, with prohibition to the rest; thereby selling the publick liberty to any Body, who would undertake that impious profession, and leaving them the administration of all things, for the payment of a certain duty agreed upon betwixt themselves. The same practices he used with his other Magistrates, and such as had Governments, and Offices, who plagued and pillaged those who depended upon them with all manner of Liberty, because no small part of the profits accrued to the Emperor. Least the number of former Magistrates should have been too small to execute his pernicious inventions, (for before his time, the Governor of the City took cognizance of all Crimes) he created two more, that he might ruine the poor subject with more ease and expedition. To one of them he gave the title of *Pretor* of the People, and his business was to correct Thieves; the other was called the *Inquisitor*, and his office to punish Sodomy, Buggery, Idolatry, Heresie, and Superstition; and these two upstart Commanders followed his directions exactly according to *Justinians* intention. The *Pretor*, when any considerable Felony was committed, and the lost Goods found about the Theif, seised them for the Emperor, pretending, he kept them for their right Master; by which way, *Justinian* got every day some rich thing or other, and without any expence. The *Inquisitor*, when any Man was condemned, confiscated what he

pleased

pleaſed of his eſtate, adjudged it to the Emperor, and inriched himſelf by the ruine of other People: For at firſt, the Magiſtrates never informed themſelves, if a man were accuſed, though there were Witneſſes ready to prove the Fact; but without examining the Caſe, or any legal Conviction, they cauſed who they pleaſed to be put privately to death, and ſeiſed their eſtates for the uſe of the Emperor. At length the wicked *Juſtinian* committed the Judgment of all Criminal Affairs to theſe two Magiſtrates indifferently, and to the Governor of the Town, commanding each to do what they could, to deſtroy more People then his Companions. It is reported, That one of them coming to him, to know who ſhould determine in a Cauſe that had been heard before them all three, the Emperor told him, *He that had condemned moſt already.*

He debaſed the Office of the Treaſurer or Queſtor exceedingly, though all the Emperors his Predeceſſors, endeavored to raiſe it, and put in perſons who were to have cognizance of all things, but eſpecially of the Laws, chuſing them always as free from Covetouſneſs as they could, well knowing it impoſſible, but a State muſt be ſubject to many diſorders, under the adminiſtration of an ignorant Queſtor, or one that comes in to that place with a deſire to make himſelf rich. This Queſtorſhip *Juſtinian* conferred upon *Tribonian*, whoſe manners I have elſwhere deſcribed: After his death, he took the beſt part of his eſtate (though he had a

Son

Son living, and several Nephews) and gave his place to *Junius Apher*, a man not at all versed in the Laws, nor who had conversed among the Lawyers; he had indeed some knowledge in Latine, but had never studied Greek; and his tongue was so little adapted to speak it, that sometimes when he ventured, he made all laugh that were present. He was so transcendently covetous, and so much beyond all reason addicted to gain, he made no difficulty to sell Places or Orders publickly, and was not ashamed to receive bribes from any body, which desired any thing of him.

This infamous Questor executed that place seven years together, to the great prejudice and dishonor of the Empire. Upon his death, the Emperor put in *Constantine*, who had indeed some notion of the Law, but was so young, he never had pleaded; besides which, he was the greatest and most impudent Theif in nature. *Justinian* loved him better then he had loved any before, if (to speak truth) he ever loved any body: So that he made him superintendant in those affairs, and cheif minister of all his Injustice and Tyranny. With these advantages *Constantine* in a short time got a vast estate, but his insolence was insupportable; for he affronted any man, who came to him without some considerable present; and when any bribe was given to have their business dispatched, they were obliged to intrust it in the hands of his servants; for none was suffered to come near, or speak with him, but when he was with the Emperor,

Emperor, or returned from him; and then he would not vouchsafe them time to explain themselves, for fear of being detained one moment, and gain nothing by it. In this manner *Justinian* made use of his Questor.

The Captain of his Guards, besides the usual sum, paid annually to the Emperor more then 3000 Livres in Gold; which Money was not to be raised, either according to Law, or antient Custom, but was accounted to *Justinian* as dropped out of the air: For which reason (I conceive) it was called *The Aerial Tribute*, though it might more properly have been named *The effect of the cunning and impiety of the Prince*, who under the title of Tribute, gave occasion to the Captains to squeeze the estates of those under him without controul, upon pretence, that they were obliged to pay it into the Emperor, though their own expences and manner of living was suitable to the Majesty of a King. The Emperor let them alone in this manner, till they had cram'd their own Coffers, and got immense riches together, then taking advantage of some complaints against them, he charged them with some crime, of which, they could not readily clear themselves, and seised upon all they had got, as he served *John* of *Cappadocia*. All who were ever in that Office, inriched themselves vastly, and got incredible estates, only two are to be excepted, *Phocas* whom I mentioned in my other Books (a person of great honesty, and so accomplished vertue, he could not be reproached with any thing that he had gained

gained in that place;) and *Baſſus*, who ſucceeded him, was the other; but they continued not long in their commands, being perſons who governed too well, and could not frame themſelves to the Cuſtoms of that age: And becauſe I ſhould never conclude, ſhould I go about to be particular in every thing, I ſhall only ſay, That the Emperor did the ſame with every Officer he had, and all the other Magiſtrates in *Conſtantinople*.

Thorow all the reſt of the Towns in the Empire, *Juſtinian* put the cheifeſt Offices into the hands of the worſt men he could find, to the end, that he might have pretence to take from them what they ſhould get, and impropriate it to his own uſe; and indeed, an honeſt man, with but common ſence, would not have accepted them, and hazarded his own fortune to deſtroy other people. When *Juſtinian* had received the Money he agreed for, with thoſe he was to prefer, he ſuffered them to pillage the people, and the Provinces, that they might inrich themſelves in a ſhort time, and they complied with his deſign: For having borrowed at great intereſt, the Money which they paid for their places, when they were poſſeſſed of their Governments or other places, they treated the ſubjects with all manner of Tyranny, to diſcharge themſelves of the debts which they had contracted in the purchaſe, and to lay up for themſelves. And this they did with the greater liberty, becauſe they were in no apprehenſion of being queſtioned, much leſs condemned

ed for their exaction; but on the contrary were assured, That the excess of their violences, their murders, their thefts, and all their other cruelties, would rather be a means to gain them honor and reputation, seeing all those Frauds and Extortions passed with that Prince, for marks of their industry and address. But for all that, when *Justinian* observed they were sufficiently rich he intangled them in some pretended charge or other, and took all from them in a moment.

There was a Law made, by which it was injoyned to all persons who were to be advanced to any Office or Government, to swear upon the *Evangelists*, *That they would not commit any violence or extortions upon the Subject; and, that there was nothing, either given or taken for their places; and that, whoever was guilty of transgressing that Law, should be accursed according to the custom of the Antients:* But the said Law had not been in force a full year; but in despight of that Law, and the malediction that was pronounced, he sold those Offices himself, not only privately, but with inimitable impudence, in the face of the whole World, and the Merchants which bought them; notwithstanding their Oaths to the contrary, plundred and ravaged the State more then ever before. Besides these, he had another invention, which perhaps is not so easily to be believed; and that was not to sell the great Offices in *Constantinople* as formerly, but to keep them in his own hands, and execute them by certain persons, to whom

he

he allowed ſallaries for their pains, and received all the reſt of the profits to himſelf; and they (like Farmers) having received what they were to expect from their Maſter, with inſupportable boldneſs, ſqueezed, and extorted whatever they could to ſatisfie him, and indeed, brought him in moſt prodigious ſums.

Theſe Mercenary Magiſtrates and Governors were to be ſeen paſſing from one Province to another, plaguing and tormenting the poor people, under the fair pretence of their dignity. *Juſtinian* had always a great care to put the worſt men in his Empire, into the beſt places, and his deſign commonly ſucceeded. When he firſt advanced his wicked agents to the principal Dignities, and their power had diſcovered their ill inclinations, it was much admired, that the heart of man could be capable of ſuch malice: But after a conſiderable interval, thoſe who ſucceeded, having infinitely out-done them, the people were at as great a loſs to comprehend how it ſhould be poſſible for them to exceed their Predeceſſors, who had paſſed among them for ſuch abominable Creatures; and yet compared with the preſent Officers, were very honeſt men. But the third ſucceſſion, and thoſe who came after them, exceeded the ſecond, as much as the ſecond had done the firſt, and did in a manner vindicate their Predeceſſors by the tranſcendency of their crimes, and the extream induſtry which they expreſſed in the conduct of their execrable actions, inſomuch, as they reſtored them who were before them, to ſome degree

degree of reputation, though in their times it was thought impoſſible for any to have been more impious and cruel. In this manner the miſeries of the State daily increaſing, it was manifeſt by experience, That certain bounds cannot be preſcribed to the wickedneſs of Man, and that when it is confirmed by precedent examples, and maintained and ſupported by great perſons, and power and authority, gives it means to exert, and ſhow its ſelf againſt Inferiors; no man can tell how far it will extend, but by the greatneſs of the miſeries which it pulls down upon the people. And theſe were the Magiſtrates in faſhion under the Reign of *Juſtinian*.

It often fell out, that the *Huns* invaded the Lands of the Empire, and the Commanders in *Thracia* and *Illyrium* having reſolved to charge them in their Retreat, they received expreſs Orders from the Emperor to the contrary, as being allied with him againſt the *Goths*, and the reſt which were Enemies to the very name of the *Romans*.

The *Barbarians* making uſe of that occaſion, retreated, after they had committed a thouſand outrages upon the Subjects of the Empire, and the more, becauſe they found they ſhould paſs as Allies, though they carried with them a vaſt deal of plunder, and great quantity of priſoners. The *Peaſants* unable to endure, that their Wives and Children ſhould be carried into captivity, got together in conſiderable numbers, purſued, overtook, charged, defeated the *Barbarians*, and having

having taken all their Baggage, they recovered their prisoners, and all the spoil that they had lost: But this victory was very unfortunate to the *Peasants*, for the Emperor sent Soldiers amongst them, who beat, and wounded, and abused them, and eat up the whole Countrey, till they had surrendred the Horses which they had taken from the *Barbarians*.

When *Justinian* and *Theodora* had quit themselves of *John de Cappadocia*, they looked out for another to put in his place; but they resolved to chuse none; but the worst that they could find, that he might be a faithful minister of the cruelty and oppression which they designed against their Subjects. For this reason they were very curious in examining the spirit and humors of all people about the Court; but finding none of them bad enough, they gave the place (*pro tempore*) to one *Theodotus*, who though no Saint, was not so wicked as they desired; at length, after long and diligent search, they found out a certain *Syrian*, called *Peter Barzames*, who had been a Banker by profession; this Rascal had got a great sum of Money together by his cunning and juggling, cheating the receivers, and other persons, with the greatest dexterity in the World, nimming their Money as they were telling it, so neatly, it was hard to perceive him; and when he was taken, he had the impudence to swear them down, that it stuck to his fingers.

This fellow, as I have discribed him, having listed himself first in the *Pretorian* Bands, came by

by degrees to that perfection of wickedneſs, that he was always the firſt who offered his ſervice to *Theodora*, when ever any of her impious reſolutions were to be put in execution. Upon this ſcore they put him in the place of *Theodotus*, who ſucceeded *John* of *Cappadocia*, as not being able to make choice of another man, ſo proper to aſſiſt in their barbarous deſigns.

The firſt thing he did, he cheated the Soldier of his pay, and he did it without the leaſt ſhame or fear in the World. His next exploit was, to expoſe to ſale the Offices and Commands, with the greateſt infamy that ever Man did, ſelling them much cheaper to any that was ready for an ill action; abandoning the goods and the lives of the people of the Provinces, to them who bought the Governments, and transferring to them, all the power which the Emperor had granted him of pilling and plundering with impunity, as ſoon as ever they had paid their Money; ſo that, what ever they received of the blood and lives of the Subject, was immediately conveyed into the Coffers of the Emperor.

There were likewiſe Diabolical Councils and Conventions about the deſtruction of Cities, held in the cheif Courts in *Conſtantinople*, and (if I miſtake not) by publick allowance; for from that time, Officers were created with the title of *Collectors*, and diſtributed into the Provinces, to raiſe Money under pretence of Juſtice; but in reality to reimburſe themſelves of what

they had given for their places, which they levied upon such as were culpable with most merciless cruelty. At length *Peter* himself, among those whom he imployed in his exactions, having tried many, found some who cheated him, and laid up for themselves; and this was not his misfortune alone, but every mans who had borne the said office before, and after him; the Masters of the Offices, and such as had been advanced for their money or presents; the Overseers of the Emperors particular Demesns; and in few words, all the Magistrates, not only in *Constantinople*, but the whole Empire: For in short, from the time that *Justinian* (the greatest Tyrant that ever was) had the administration of Affairs, there was not one place, but he sold himself, or his Ministers under hand; and those who bought them, were obliged to serve him long, with much trouble and great loss.

Justinian had made great provision of Corn in *Constantinople*, and kept it till the greatest part of it shrunk; nevertheless, though it was not fit to be used, he forced the Cities in the East to take it off on his hands, each of them a certain proportion, and sold it to them at a much dearer rate, then if it had been good: So that the poor Citizens were constrained so throw it into the Sea, or the Common-shores, though it had cost them so dear. And for that which was good, though there was great quantities of it in the Granaries in *Constantinople*, the Emperor caused it to be sold to such Towns as wanted it, at double the price it bore in the Provinces

Provinces, from whence it was extorted and ſent thither. But the next year there being a ſcarcity of Corn, and the Ships having tranſported leſs from the Provinces, then was requiſite for the ſubſiſtance of the people of that City, which was the greateſt in the World. *Peter* found himſelf in great perplexity, not knowing of what Wood to make his Arrow, nor what remedy to apply to their Diſtreſs. Having well conſidered of a way, at length he pitched upon this, to cauſe all the Corn to be tranſported out of *Thrace*, *Phrygia*, and *Bithynia*, to *Conſtantinople*, and to compel the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces to convey it themſelves to the Ports, where they were to ſhip it with a great deal of pains, and carry it by Sea to *Conſtantinople*; having experimented in their paſsage, all the dangers that could be incurred, in a ſullen and outragious Sea.

When they were arrived thorow all thoſe difficulties, and had perfected their voyage, they had but a third part of their due paid them for their pains, and the loſſes they received were ſo great and conſiderable, they had better have given away their Corn, and twice as much more: Yet all this Proviſion was too ſmall for the ſuſtenance of ſo populous a City, ſeveral perſons went to complain to the Emperor, and remonſtrate the true ſtate of affairs. The Soldiers who were in great arrears, and had no Money to furniſh themſelves with Victuals, began to murmur and repine, and to hold ſuch Meetings and Aſſemblies in the Town, as ſeem-

ed to presage a Sedition which was ready to break out: Hereupon the Emperor conceiving a displeasure against *Peter* for his male-administration, resolved to take away his place, not only because of the present inconveniencies, but because he was assured he was very rich, and had heaped up vast sums by his violences and oppressions: But *Theodora* opposed it, being a great friend to *Barzames*, by reason (as I imagine) of his wicked inclinations, and the insupportable cruelty wherewith he treated the Subjects; for as she her self was naturally cruel and inhumane, she took particular care, to have such people to execute her designs, as were absolutely conformable to her own pernicious disposition. Some there are notwithstanding, who affirm, That *Peter* forced *Theodora* to be his friend, by vertue of certain charms, though she was naturally his Enemy. The truth is, all his life long he had applied himself much to Inchantments, and Necromancy, holding great correspondence with the *Manicheans*, because they studied them much, and were open favorers of those Arts, as *Barzames* was of them. Though *Theodora* understood all this, and more, she loved him never the less; on the contrary she ingaged in his interests with more kindness and zeal, having had her self in her youth great conversation with Sorcerers and Magicians, and placed much confidence in their Art, and many times made very much use of it. It was believed likewise, That it was not altogether her flattery and complacency, which gave her such influence upon

on *Juſtinian*, but her Magick and intelligence with the Devil; for *Juſtinian* was not ſo cunning, nor of a nature ſo flexible to good, to defend himſelf againſt her ſtratagems, and wiles of this kind: On the contrary, his mind being entirely corrupted by cruelty, and avarice, he was every moment expoſed ſo much to ſubtilties and flattery, that in things of greateſt importance, he turned eaſily with the wind, there being no truſt or reliance upon him for the beſt friend, or neareſt relation that he had: For in ſhort, he was the moſt light, unconſtant, and uncertain man in all things, that ever was known. So that the Sorcerers who were very buſie about him with their charms, and particularly *Theodora*, found no great difficulty to arrive at their ends.

The humors and inclinations of *Peter*, as I ſaid before, wrought ſo much upon *Theodora*, and gained him the favor of that Princeſs, ſo effectually, that the Emperor having with much ado, removed him from his Prefectſhip, ſhe prevailed with him not long after to make him high Treaſurer of the Empire, having taken that place from *John*, who had been put into it but little before. This *John* was originally of *Paleſtine*, a man of that mildneſs, juſtice, and generoſity, he knew not how to exerciſe the little frugalities of a private family; and for injury, he had never done it to any perſon alive. But the more grateful he was in the eyes of the people, the more odious he became to *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, who no ſooner had notice of the

vertue and goodneſs of their Officers; but they turned their thoughts wholly upon ways of removing them, not being able to endure perſons ſo oppoſite to their own natural temper.

Peter, as I ſaid before, ſucceeding *John*, in the management of the Treaſury, was the cauſe of a thouſand miſeries toparticular perſons, having imbezled the Fund, which of a long time had been raiſing by an antient and laudable cuſtom, for the relief of ſeveral poor families; ſending part of it to the Emperor, and keeping the reſt for himſelf, whereby he acquired vaſt riches, whileſt they died with hunger, who had nothing elſe to maintain them, but thoſe annual Contributions. Beſides which, he coyned Money of Gold, much leſs then the former, and made it currant by Proclamation.

Theſe in the Reign of *Juſtinian* were the perſons, who managed all the Offices, and publick imployments. I ſhall now ſpeak of the methods which he uſed to ruine all people of eſtates, though to exhibite their miſery, there needs (in ſtrictneſs) no more then what I have ſpoken of the Governors of Provinces, and Collectors, who had private and peremptory inſtruction, to ruine all people whoſe eſtates were in Land.

The *Roman* Emperors were formerly accuſtomed to remit to the people, the arrears of ſuch Money as was owing to the *Exchequer*, that ſuch of them as were unable to pay, might not be in fear all their life long; nor the Treaſurers have opportunity to raiſe Money, where many

many times it was not due. But *Justinian*, in Two and thirty years time, was not guilty of one of those remissions; the poor people were forced from their Houses and Countreys, without any hopes of return, whilest such as were honest, were liable to calumniations, and threatned perpetually to be complained of, as not having paid what was due to the Emperor for their Taxes upon their Lands; insomuch, that the unfortunate Creatures were constrained to pass away their Lands to the Emperor, or their Persecutors; not so much out of apprehension of new Taxes, as for the impossibility which they found to support long the unjust exactions, which for many years together they had been forced to pay.

Moreover, though the greatest part of *Asia* had been ruined by the Arms of the *Sarazens*, and *Persians*, and all *Europe* harassed and infested by the incursions of the *Huns*, and *Sclavonians*; the War of the *Goths* produced sacking and burning of Towns, and devastations of Provinces; though the Inhabitants were carried away prisoners with all that they had; and those few who escaped the hands of the *Barbarians*, were glad to forsake their Countrey, and banish themselves: Yet none of these considerations could work upon *Justinian*, or prevail with him to remit one tribute or impost to any one Town in the whole Empire, unless it was such as had been taken by the Enemy; and in that case, their exemption was but for a year, whereas, if he should have excused them for seven years

together, as his Predeceſſor *Anaſtatius* had done, it would have been no great matter, conſidering the great miſery to which they were reduced. In ſhort, *Cabades* invaded the Territories of the Emperor, and returned every way Victorious, but his Son *Coſroes* produc'd greater Conſternation, by Burning and Killing all where ever he paſſed with his Army. And yet thoſe of the Eaſt, who had been expoſed ſo often to the Incurſions of the *Huns*, the *Perſians*, and *Sarazins*, and ruined by their Armies; and the *Romans*, who being ſetled in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, had many times felt the Hoſtility of the *Barbarians*; thoſe I ſay, who had ſuffered ſo much for their affection to the State, found more cruelty in *Juſtinian*, then among all the *Barbarians*; his Edicts and Impoſitions, compleating that Ruine, which the Enemy had but begun. I ſhall now recite what was the Contents of thoſe Edicts.

Thoſe whoſe Eſtates were in Land, were by them obliged to furniſh a certain quantity of Proviſions for the Souldiers, at their own Charges, every Man paying his part; nor did they conſider what was given according to the Prizes of things, but according to a former Aſſeſment made a long time before; and if at any time they were ſo unfortunate, not to have ſo much Cattle or Forrage upon their Lands, as would ſatisfie for their ſhare, they were conſtrained to buy them at any rate, and convey them from the Provincial Magazines, which were very far off, to the place where the

Troops

Troops were in Garriſon, and then deliver them, in what quantity and at what rate the Officers pleaſed, and not according to what was reaſonable and juſt. This Impoſt was called, *the Impoſt of Victuals*, by which thoſe who had Lands, paid ten times greater Tribute then formerly, ſo that really it was taking from them, ſo much Blood out of their Veins, being obliged to carry their Corn to *Conſtantinople*, after they had ſuffered ſo much by quartering the Army. Theſe diſorders and oppreſſions the State owes to *Barzames* and *John de Cappadocia*, whom their Succeſſors imitated exactly in the Continuation of their Crime: And ſo much for the Tax called *the Impoſt of Victuals*. The Impoſitions were like a Plague, which came ſuddenly upon thoſe whoſe Eſtates were in Land, and took from them, not only the hopes of living tolerably well, but the means of continuing their Life, as miſerable as it was. For though the Lands were all thrown up, and deſerted by the Ruine or Flight of the Owners, or their Tenants, who were either Killed or Frighted out of their Country, or elſe hid themſelves to avoid Perſecution, *Juſtinian* without any reluctance exacted theſe Impoſitions, which were very frequent in his time; I conclude in few words, the Taxes call the *Deſcriptions* were impoſed to repair the Loſſes which the Cities had brought upon ſuch as were proprietors in the Country. But it would be an infinite Trouble, to undertake an Account of all the Evil Effects which enſued upon theſe Taxes,

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or the idle and trivial pretences, upon which they were Impoſed; for the Miſeries of the People increaſed daily, and though the Inhabitants in the Country were moſt of them dead of the Plague, (which the Roman Empire was no leſs afflicted at that time, then the other parts of the World) and though the Contagion was ſo univerſal, the Fields and the Farms lay uninhabited and untilled, *Juſtinian* never made the leaſt Abatement in his Duties, and Impoſts that he had Eſtabliſhed; on the contrary, he conſtrained with great ſeverity, thoſe who were alive, to pay the proportions of ſuch of their Neighbors, as were Dead of the Infection.

In ſhort, their fineſt and richeſt Apartments they gave for Quarters to the Souldiers, treating them with all poſſible liberality and civility, whilſt they were glad to make ſhift with any by place or ſtinking hole to lye in themſelves. In this manner things paſſed in the Reign of *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, who though they were but Mortal as other Men are, acted more like Furies then Men; for during all their time, there was not one Moments intermiſſion of War, or other Calamities, but a general and deplorable deſolation, like a Flood, overwhelmed the whole Empire at one time.

But becauſe by accident I have mentioned the word Quarters, I will not forget to ſay, that there was at *Conſtantinople* 70000 *Barbarians* and Forreigners, which the Houſe Keepers were obliged to Quarter, and to ſuffer many other Incommodities, beſides what they receiv-

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ved by Lodging them. And now I ſhall declare how *Juſtinian* behaved himſelf with his Armies. He ſent Commiſſaries call'd *Logothetes* among them, with directions to pinch and abate as much of their Pay as was poſſible, giving thoſe Miſcreants a Twelfth part of what by their deveiliſh Arts they could retrench of their pay. By the Eſtabliſhment in the *Roman Army*, all Soldiers had not equal pay: Thoſe who were new, had leſs then the reſt, thoſe who had any thing of Experience, had more, eſpecially if they had been Liſted any time; but the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Penſions, were to the *Veterans*, who had ſerved too long to be diſmiſſed without allowance, for not being looked upon as under Ingagement, but as private perſons belonging to the Eſtabliſhment, they were able to ſubſiſt with more Eaſe, and leave to their Families, out of their Wages and Pay, what would keep them, when they themſelves were dead: The Eſtabliſhment running thus, *When any of the* Veterans *dyed, or were to be diſmiſſed, thoſe who were next under, were commonly preferred according to the Antiquity of their Services, and receive Pay with the higheſt.* But theſe deteſtable Commiſſaries would not permit the Names of ſuch as were ſlain to be expung'd, nor the Rolls to be called over, but in a very long time, by which it came to paſs, that the Troops were very thin, and thoſe few Souldiers which were left, remained in ſpight of their Merits, in ranks beneath what was their due, and by conſequence their pay was ſo much

leſs

leſs then it ought to have been, whilſt in the mean time the Commiſſaries conveyed to *Juſtinian* all the Money that they purloind from the Army, which ſuffered beſides that, a thouſand other injuſtices, in recompence of the dangers they had run, and the Wounds they had received in their almoſt daily Rencounters and Engagements. For example, ſome were deſpiſed for being *Greeks*, as if *Greece* never had produced any one perſon that was worthy of the Name of a Souldier: ſome were caſhierd, as being in ſervice without the Emperors Order; The Certificates of others were with great difficulty allow'd, and others disbanded for having been abſent ſome ſmall time from their Quarters. After all this, certain of the Pretorian Bands were choſen to take an exact review, quite through the *Roman Empire*, of all the Souldiers which were capable of bearing Armes. Some who had been a long time in the Service, were caſhiered, as unfit for the War, and were to be ſeen begging about the Streets, as having nothing to ſuſtain them but the Charity of the people, which to good Men, was a ſad object, and well worthy of Compaſſion. Others to defend themſelves againſt thoſe Extremities, gave great ſums of Money to the Commiſſaries by way of Redemption: So that the Army being grown feeble and weak, by a hundred ſuch practices, and deſtitute of neceſſaries, began to conceive ſuch a hatred againſt the ſervice, that the affairs of the Empire went very ill on all ſides, and eſpecially in *Italy*: For

Alexander

Alexander who was sent thither in the Quality of Commissarie, brought a thousand Mischiefs and Incommodities upon the Souldiers, reproaching them impudently by the smalness of their Numbers, (which was not their fault, but the Emperors) and causing large sums of Money to be payd to the *Italians*, under pretence of vindicating the Emp. from the violences of *Theodoric* and his *Goths*. Nay, this business was carryed on yet farther, for the ravenous Commissaries having ruined the Common Souldiers, reduced the Officers to the greatest poverty imaginable, insomuch, as they had nothing left to subsist upon, though their Services had been extraordinary, and the Laurels wherewith they had been Crowned a long time, ought to have sheltred them against so unreasonable a Storm: And seeing I am speaking of the Army, I shall add, That formerly the Roman Emperors, had a Custom to maintain several small Armies upon the Frontiers of the Empire, to secure them against Incursions, and particularly in the Eastern Provinces, to resist the Inroads of the *Persians*, and *Sarazins*, and these Troops were called the Troops of the Frontiers. In the first place *Justinian* took so little care of these Armies, that he deferred the payment of them from four years to four years, and sometimes to five; and when the Truce was concluded betwixt the *Romans* and the *Persians*, supposing it would drain his Coffers unnecessarily, to maintain those poor Troops in time of Peace, he disbanded them all in one day, and leaving the

the Frontiers unfurniſhed, he brought thoſe Troops to ſuch indigence, that they had nothing to ſubſiſt upon, but the benevolence of good people.

The Emperors Guard conſiſted formerly of 3500 men, whoſe pay was greater than the reſt of the Army, and ſutable to the dignity of the place, as being intended for the choice Souldiers of *Armenia*, and a ſelect number to be cull'd out of the whole Army, no other being capable thereof: But from the time that *Zeno* was Emperor, all ſorts of people were entertained, and no body ſo lewd or inexperienced but might be admitted for his money. In the Reign of *Juſtin*, *Juſtinian* received ſeveral into the Guards upon the ſame termes, paying him conſiderably for it, and finding his number compleat, he entertained near 2000 more, and called them Supernumeraries, but he caſhired them as ſoon as he came himſelf to the Throne, without any reimburſment. But the beſt of his Exploits was, That pretending a deſigne to ſend Armies into *Perſia* and *Affrick* and *Italy*, he gave orders for 3500 of the oldeſt Souldiers to be picked out and prepared for that Expedition as perſons of more then ordinary experience, when to ſpeak truth they were utterly unfit for the Warr, and had not the leaſt thought or inclination thereunto; whereupon apprehending that journey exceedingly, they choſe rather to remit their arrears to the Emperor, than to undertake the Expedition, and this was not the firſt time that trick had been

been practiſed. Theſe troops of the Guards were often (or rather daily) expoſed to the deriſions and contempt of *Peter* who was *Maſter of the Offices*, who though he was naturally Gentle and loved not to do any man hurt, was nevertheleſs the laſt man who by his exactions and immoderate deſire of Wealth, put the Emperor upon thoſe things, and made him (as I ſaid before) conſpire the deſtruction of *Amala-lazonte* the Daughter of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*.

There are belonging to the Emperors houſhold, a ſort of Souldiers of much higher quality than the reſt, who buying their places at a dearer rate have better pay than any of their Brethren. Theſe are called his Domeſtick Guards, or his Protectors; They never go to the Warrs, and are never received into the Emperors Palace but according to their Ranks. Part of theſe were conſtantly in Gariſon in *Conſtantinople*, others in *Galatia*, and others in other of the Provinces. By the ſame ſubtilty and artifice, *Juſtinian* conſtrained them not to demand of him their Arrears: But to bring all that may be ſaid of this ſubject, to one point; according to antient Cuſtom the Emperor every five years had a General Muſter, ſo that every five years Commiſſaries were ſent from *Conſtantinople* to all the Provinces, Armys and Garriſons, and gave from the Emperor a piece of Gold of five *Stateras* to every Soldier: This had been practiſed a long time, but for this laſt 32 years ſince *Juſtinian* came to the Govern-

vernment, he took ſo little care to continue it, it is almoſt forgot that ever there was ſuch a Cuſtom. But let us now paſs to his practices upon the poor Subject.

Thoſe who are received into Office in the Emperors Houſhold, or admitted to any degree of Magiſtracy in *Conſtantinople*, take their places loweſt and are afterwards advanced, as any of thoſe above them dye, or retire, and that courſe they continue till they come at the higheſt. For ſuch perſons, by antient Inſtitution there was eſtabliſhed a Fund of above 10000 *Livers* of Gold every year, to the end that having a comfortable and honorable ſubſiſtance for themſelves when they grow aged, they might be able in ſome meaſure to give reliefe to other people: which indeed was a very good thing, to oblige the Officers, and incourage them to accquit themſelves handſomly of their imployments in the adminiſtration of publick affairs. But this unmerciful Prince having retrenched all their penſions, and taken from them all means to ſubſiſt, ruined not only them, but many others beſides: for as we cannot but be the better for ſome peoples plenty, ſo we muſt needs ſuffer dammage when they are undone, in whoſe plenty we ſhared. In ſhort, he that will compute the retrenchments which he upon them and other people during the thirty two years of his Reign, will find the ſumms to be vaſt which he brought into his Exchequer. And this was the Courſe this great Tyrant obſerved to ruin and vex the

Souldiers

Soldiers, the Officers, the Officers of his houſhold, and the Magiſtrates: I ſhall now mention his deportment with the Merchants, Mariners, Mechanicks, and all that kept Shop in *Conſtantinople*, and in a word his univerſal injuſtice to all people.

There are two Streights not far from *Conſtantinople*, one in the *Heleſpont* betwixt *Seſtos* and *Abydos*, the other at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea not far from the famous Church of our Lady. In the Streight upon the *Heleſpont* there was never any Cuſtom-houſe, or Office, or Partiſans, or Publicans, but a Perſon was eſtabliſhed by the Emperor at *Abydos* who had the charge of Surveying all Goods and Armes that were tranſported, and to ſee that nothing of that nature ſhould be carried from *Conſtantinople* but by the Emperours permiſſion, nor any Veſſel ſuffered to paſs without a Ticket from the Magiſtrates appointed to that purpoſe: For no ſhip was allowed to go out, but by leave from the Commiſſary or Secretary to the Maſter of the Offices, and what *Pretor* exacted of the Maſters of the Ships under the title of Duties, was ſo inconſiderable, no body regarded it. To the other Streight a *Pretor* was ſent likewiſe, whoſe buſineſs was the ſame, that is to ſay, to take care that no body tranſported to the barbarous Nations any Merchandize or Effects which were forbidden to be Exported out of the Empire; but with this Caution, That he ſhould not exact any Duties either from the Merchant or maſter of the Ship. But from the time *Juſtinian* had the manage-

ment of Affairs, he eſtabliſhed both in one place and the other Officers of his cuſtomes and two *Pretors* to whom he gave a certain Sallary by the year upon condition they would apply their utmoſt endeavor to draw as much money from thoſe duties as was poſſible. Theſe Mercenary Officers who had no greater deſire, than to demonſtrate to the Emperor their Zeal and affection to his ſervice, ſcrewed and raviſhed from the Mariners by violence, illegal and unaccuſtomed Gabels upon all ſorts of Commodities. And at this rate were things managed in thoſe Streights; But for the part of *Conſtantinople* he gave the charge of that to one of his Court a great favorite called *Addeus* born in *Syria*, with Order to take Dutyes of all Veſſels whatever, whether outward or inward bound. This *Addeus* to ſatisfy the inſatiable Avarice of his Maſter, when the Ships had been a certain time in the Harbor, obliged the Maſters to pay money for their exemption, or elſe he would lade their Ships with Commodities to be tranſported into *Africk* or *Italy*; Inſomuch that many people unable to endure thoſe injuries and oppreſſions, nor the great Expenſes they were neceſſitated to be at in their Navigation, burned their Ships and fled, chooſing rather to looſe all at once, than to be hourly expoſed to the Cares and miſeries of their condition. But others who were forced to continue their Trade for ſubſiſtance, would not let their Ships to the Merchants under three times the rate as formerly, and then the Merchant

chant being enforced to ſell accordingly, to reimburſe himſelf of what he was out; by theſe unlucky projects, *Juſtinian* found out a way to ruin all the Subjects which he had: and this was the face of affairs in thoſe kind of things. But I think my ſelf bound in this place to give a deſcription of the Courſes which *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* made uſe of to raiſe profit out of the Moneys. The Officers of the Mint uſed to make a certain coin of Gold of the value of two hundred and ten *Obolas*, which they called *Pholes*. *Juſtinian* to make his advantage, cauſed them to be melted down, and new ones to be Coined, weighing but 180. ſo that he got a ſixth part out of every piece to the great prejudice of his Subjects. Moreover having ſettled impoſts upon all Merchandize (which could not be done without vaſt detriment to the Buyers) there was nothing exempt but Cloaths, which were not liable to Cuſtoms, but *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* found out a way to draw money out of them as well as the reſt.

Formerly the Workmen and Merchants of Silk Stuffs, had their Factorys in *Beryte*, and *Tyre*, two Townes in *Phœnicia*, where they ſettled their Trade, and from whence afterwards it was propogated quite through the World: but in the Reign of *Juſtinian* thoſe who lived in *Conſtantinople*, and other Towns under the Roman Dominion, raiſed the prices of their Silks, pretending they were dearer in *Perſia*, beſides the Dutyes which were required and ex-

acted at the entrance into the Empire. It was known not long after that the Emperor was accessary, for he put forth an Edict prohibiting any to sell under Eight gold pieces a pound of Silk, with confiscation of Goods, and loss of Estate to any that should disobey: This appearing altogether unreasonable to the Merchant, who could not afford his Commodities which cost him much dearer at the usual rate, he chose rather to give over and trade no more: Whereupon several of them gave away (secretly) all the remainder of their Wares, to such of their friends as delighted in such unnecessary expences, and loved to appear glorious in the World, or to such as had any other occasion for them: but as privately as they carried it, a rumor was spread abroad, no body knew from whence, which coming to the Ears of *Theodora*, she fined the Merchants an hundred pound in Gold, and seized upon their Silks into the bargain. At present there is none but the grand Treasurer who can licence that Manufactory, in which *Perzames* who had that Office was permitted to play a thousand juggling tricks; In effect, he took the Workmen to himself, constrained them to work only for him, and would not suffer them to deal with any body else; besides he sold publickly in the Warehouses which he had set up, an ounce of any coloured Silk for six pieces of Gold, but if it were in Grain, or the Colour Royal which they called *Holovere*; he sold it for four and twenty; so that by these unconscionable wayes he raised vast

vaſt Summes of Money for the Emperor, beſides his own ſhips, which he kept very private, and were ſuppoſed as conſiderable as the other, and this trade he drives to this day, with prohibition to every body elſe: For this cauſe the Merchants both in *Conſtantinople* and other Citys reſented highly their uſage, and the loſs which they ſuſtained by the ruin of their Workmen: And for as much as in *Tyre*, and *Beryte* moſt of the popular ſubſiſted by that ſort of Manufactory, they were brought to a neceſſity of begging the charity of good people, or ſtarving with hunger and miſery. And thoſe few who eſcaped, quitted their own Countrey, and fled among the *Parthians*, for (as I ſaid before) none but the Treaſurer-General of the Empire was permitted to meddle in that commodity, and he returning a ſmall part of his gains to the Emperor, kept the greateſt to himſelf, raiſing a prodigious eſtate out of the ruins of the people, and his happineſs, out of the Calamities of the State, but enough of this, I ſhall now proceed, and give an account how he deſpoild *Conſtantinople*, and the other Towns of all their Ornaments. His firſt deſigne was againſt the Lawyers, whom he reſolved utterly to undo, leſſening their fees, and forbiding gratuities, though after the Cauſe was determined, which were commonly very conſiderable: In all Suits that were depending he cauſed deciſion to be made by oath, which rendred the Lawyers uſeleſs and contemptible, to theirgreat prejudice and diſpleaſure:

Moreover, from the time in which *Justinian* made bold with the Senators, and seized upon their Estates, and other great Citizens in *Constantinople*, which were as Wealthy as they, the Advocates and Lawyers were become very inconsiderable, as not having Work for any one Hearing; so that they whose number and esteem was formerly very great, were now grown but few, and they not only despised by all the World, but destitute of all Necessaries, having nothing left them, but their old Institution to distinguish them from other people. Nor was *Justinians* Malice peculiar to the Lawyers; the same kind of Severity he used upon the Physitians, and all other Professors of Learning, retrenching their Fees, and taking away their Pensions, which had been given by the Primitive Emperors, and payd constantly. As to the Revenue of every Town, which had been given by their Predecessors, for Exhibition of publick shows, or supplying publick Necessities, he made no Bones to ingross them to himself, by which means the Physitians, and other Learned Professors, lost their subsistance. No publick Buildings were Erected, no Lights in the Night for the convenience of Passengers; No Feasting; nor rejoycing among the Citizens; baiting of wild Beasts, Comedies, and the pastimes of the *Cyrcus*, were layd aside along time by *Justinian*, whose Wife had been bred and advanced from those very Theaters which he destroyed; at length when he had put down these shews in all the other Cities, he suppressed them

them in *Constantinople*, and all to save the Money which he was thereby necessitated annually to disburse, without the least regard or consideration, that he would starve an infinite number of poor people, whose subsistance depended wholly upon those kind of things. So that in a manner the whole world was invalu'd in, and depressed with extream sadness, as well publick Societies, as particular persons, every Man passing his time without any Diversion, and groaning under his Misfortune, as heavy and immoveable. To be short, their Discourse and Communication at home, in the Streets, in the Churches and every where, was nothing but of the Miseries, the Calamities of that age, and the sad and deplorable condition of their present Affairs; and this was the manner in which he Treated the Cities: but now it is necessary I say something of what followed, and so compleat this History.

It was a Custom to create every year two Consuls, one at *Rome*, the other at *Constantinople*; whoever was advanced to that Dignity, was obliged at his Entrance, to an Expence of two thousand pound in Gold, a small part of it was generally his own Money, but the greatest part was from the liberality of the Prince; and this Money which the Consuls commonly imploy'd in Presents, that were to be given upon their admission, or to the poor, or in Gifts to the Comedians, was of great Relief to those Cities, and helped well towards the subsistance of the people. But since *Justinian* came to the

Empire, no certain time was kept for the Election of the said Consuls, the same persons being continued several years, and no Assemblies allowed for the Creation of new, so that all people were fallen into extream Misery, the Emperor not only retained in his own hand what was wont to be distributed among his Subjects, but robb'd and dispossessed them of what they had of their own, in all places, and by all ways imaginable! I suppose I have said enough of the Violences which he used in his administration of the publick Moneys, as also when he sequestred the Estates of the whole Senate, and every particular Member therein, (with which he cramm'd his own Coffers, but could not satiate his Mind) as likewise in the descriptions of the Arts and Calumnies which he used to get the Estates of all rich Men into his hands, his Tyranny, and the sad effects of it, upon the Emperors Guards, and other Domesticks; his cruelty to the Common Souldiers of his Army, and of his particular Guards; To the Inhabitants of the Country; To the Proprietors of the Land; To the Professors of Sciences, Merchants, Masters of Ships, Seamen, Carryers, Messengers, Mechanicks, Comedians, Lawyers, Officers of Justice of all sorts, and in a word to all those who were Expos'd and sensible of the misery above mentioned, and to those who could not be happy when the other were miserable. But now I must speak of his Inhumanity to the Poor, and inferiour sort of people, whom he reduc'd to the greatest degree

gree of Indigence imaginable, and after that I ſhall relate how he behaved himſelf towards the Prieſts.

Juſtinian (as I ſaid before) had ingroſſed and impropriated, all the old Duties upon Commodities, and layd new upon every thing, not exempting ſuch as were neceſſary for ſubſiſtance, by which he got a third part of whatever was ſold by his Subjects: But I will not go about to make a particular Enumeration of all the Injuries that I have ſeen; it would amount to an incredible buſineſs; I ſhall only ſay, he layd a grievous Tax upon the Bread, which the Artiſans, the poor, and the ſick, bought every year, which by Computation amounted annually to 300 Livres of Gold, and thereby conſtrained thoſe poor Creatures to ſuſtain themſelves upon very ill bread, full of duſt, and ſcarce poſſible to be eaten; ſo far had the Exceſs of his Impiety tranſported him. In the mean time, thoſe who had the Charge of Proviſions, taking that Example, to make their own Markets, heaped up vaſt Riches as well as he, and by their wicked Inventions and Projects, ſtarv'd thoſe poor wretches, whoſe Miſery had more need to have had ſome way found out, to have made things cheaper, then that they ſhould be ſold to them by their weight in Gold: For no Man was permitted to bring any Corn from other parts, and all were obliged to take their Bread of him.

The Pipes which conveyed the Water into the City being broke, the Emperor was ſenſible it was

was not easily to be supplyed any where else, for the Baths were most of them dry, and there was not a day, but some or other were stifled in the Crowds, which thronged continually to those Fountains which were remaining; Nevertheless, he took no notice of it, would be at no expence to repair them, but let them lie, though they were of so universal importance, and in the mean time squandred away prodigious Sums in fine, but useless and vain Buildings upon the Banks of the Sea, in the Subburbs of *Constantinople*; as if the Palace which had been the Residence of so many great Princes his Predecessors, and had pleased them very well, had not been good enough for the Entertainment of him and his Empress. So that thereby he clearly evinc'd, it was not purely Covetuousness, or desire to spare, which made him act in this manner; but he was restrained from the repairing those Aquaducts, by an unparraleld piece of Cruelty, that would not suffer him to have the least Commiseration, for the Evils which he brought upon his Miserable Subjects: For never was there Man in the World that with more Impudence and *Effronterie*, sought out unjust ways of raising of Money, that exacted it with more Cruelty, nor spent it more profusely when he had done. Insomuch, that the poor people in the Extremity they were in, being brought to nothing but Bread, (and that of their worst sort) and Water for the Subsistance (had been in some Measure happy, if they could have held there) but they had now lost both

both of them, at leaſt they could not ſo eaſily come at them, for the Dearneſs of the one, and the Scarceneſs of the other, the Bread by reaſon of the Emperors Impoſitions, and the Water by his Cruelty or Negligence; Nor was this confined only to *Conſtantinople*, but alaſs, he perſecuted the Poor in all places, and by all the Arts he could uſe, ſome of which I ſhall mention in ſhort.

After that *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* had made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*; to leave ſome markes behind him of the Ancient Dignity of this Roman Commonwealth, he permitted the *Pretorian Bands* to continue in their former condition, and ordered them the ſame Allowance, which by long Cuſtom they had had every day. Theſe Souldiers were very numerous, and comprehended under that Name, *The Troops of Silence*, the *Domeſticks*, and ſeveral others. Though this priviledge of Conſervation could not make them rich, yet by that means they remained ſtill as Souldiers upon the Rolls; and had a comfortable ſubſiſtance thereby, though what they received, was ſcarce ſufficient alone; and beſides this, *Theodorick* condeſcended, that their Children, and Grandchildren ſhould inherite their Eſtates. To the poor, who were retired about the Churches of St. *Peter*, he ordered a yearly Diſtribution of 3000 Veſſels of Corn, to be paid out of the publick Stores. Theſe Gifts were continued both to the one and the other, till the arrival of *Alexander Forficula* in *Italy*, who quickly aboliſhed thoſe

good

good Customs, and having sent word thereof to *Justinian* the Emperor, he expressed his approbation, by the many Acts of Grace which he conferred upon the said *Alexander*, who plaid another unlucky prank with the Inhabitants of *Helene*, in his Voyage into *Italy*. The people of the Country about *Thermopyles*, had alwayes had the keeping of that Pass, and at the time of *Alexanders* Expedition into those parts, being apprehensive least the *Barbarians* should make an Inroad into *Peloponessus*, the Peasants kept Guard by Turns, in the place of the Mountains where they were most likely to pass. *Alexander* being arrived, pretended he did not think it safe to trust so considerable a Pass, to the Defence of the Countrey people, and as if his Design had been nothing but the preservation of *Peloponessus*, he left there 10000 Men, which were paid not out of the Coffers of the Emperor, but at the charge of the Neighbouring Towns, in the Province of *Hellade*, by which means he annexed to the Emperors Revenue, what ever had been formerly given to the said Towns, for the Building or repairing publick Structures, or the Expense of their shews, under pretence of imploying it for the payment of those Souldiers, which were of so great importance for the preservation of that Country, so that from that time, neither in the Province of *Hellade*, nor in *Athens* it self, could any Buildings be erected or repaired, any shows exhibited, or any other thing promoted for the benefit of those Towns, at the Charge of the publick,

lick, all that *Forticula* did, being positively confirmed. We will now speak of the Calamities which were suffered by the poor *Alexandrians*.

There was in *Alexandria* one *Ephestus*, an Advocate by profession, who being advanced to the Supream Magistracy in that Town, appeased all the Tumults and Factions that arose in it: But he himself was more pernicious to the Citizens, then the greatest Sedition that could have been, for he reduced them to an extremity of Distress.

In short, having appointed Offices for all Commodities, which he had forbidden other Merchants to sell, reserving them wholly for himself, he sold all things at his own rates, and put great prices upon them, which the Authority of his Office would make good. Hereupon the people wanted the necessaries of life, not being able to supply themselves with such things as were to be bought at an easie and indifferent rate, before *Ephestus* was made Governor: For having ingrossed all the Corn that came out of *Egypt*, not permitting any man to buy so much as one bushel, he put what price upon it he pleased; so that, in a short time, having acquired a vast wealth himself, he endeavored likewise to content the insatiable avarice of the Emperor: And the people of *Alexandria* endured all this ill treatment without complaint, for fear of provoking their Governor to use them worse: And the Emperor taking singular delight to see Money flowing into his *Exchequer* from

from those parts, took a particular kindness and affection to *Ephestus*, whilest he, to continue and advance it, did as I shall relate.

The Emperor *Diocletian* had ordained a yearly distribution of Corn to the poor of *Alexandria*, which from that very time was constantly observed, the poor having received it, in those times, and left it afterwards to their posterity. But *Ephestus* stopped this distribution, and caused two thousand Barrels of Corn (which was the usual quantity to be disposed among the people) to be secured in the Emperors Granaries, pretending, That the *Alexandrines* had enjoyed it by Usurpation, and contrary to all Justice, and the interest of the State. The Emperor approved what he had done, confirmed it by Proclamation, and had a higher esteem for *Ephestus* then before, whilest the poor people of that City, whose hopes of livelihood depended much upon so considerable a relief, was by this unparalleld cruelty reduced to the greatest extremity; and they were the more sensible of it, because it fell out at a time when there was great scarcity in *Egypt*. But *Justinian* committed so many cruelties of this nature, it would tire any man to number them: Wherefore I shall only select out of that vast number, some few which I conceive will be sufficient to convince posterity of his fraud, hypocrisie, contempt of God, his Priests, and his Laws, how he persecuted those who were most religious and devout; and that he had neither shame nor modesty, nor care of the State, his whole thoughts being bent upon contriving

contriving plauſible pretences; for his Crimes, when indeed his end was nothing but to ruine the whole World, and get their Eſtates.

At firſt, he put in one *Paul* into the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, (at the time when *Rhodon*, a *Phenician*, was Governor) to whom he writ to execute what ever *Paul* recommended to him, and to be ſure to aſſiſt him; for by his induſtry he hoped to oblige all the cheif perſons in that City, and prevail with them to ſtand for the Council of *Chalcedon*. There was at that time a native of *Paleſtine*, called *Arſenius*, the wickedeſt man alive, who having made himſelf neceſſary to the Empreſs, by the management of her intrigues, had got a vaſt eſtate, and with it, great credit and authority. This miſcreant was of the ſame Religion with the *Samaritans*, but he had always pretended to be a Chriſtian, and his Father and Brother diſſembling the ſame Faith, being ſupported by his intereſt, and acted by his deviliſh perſwaſions, they brought a thouſand miſeries upon the Chriſtians of *Scythopolis* where they lived: Whereupon the Citizens revolted, and put them to death, after they had puniſhed them ſeverely, which was the occaſion afterwards of much miſcheif to *Paleſtine*; for as to *Arſenius* (though he was really the Author of thoſe troubles) the Emperor inflicted no other puniſhment upon him, but to forbid him the Court, and that he did only to ſatisfie the Chriſtians who were very importunate againſt him.

Arſenius

Arsenius being banished the Court, conceiving he should do a thing very acceptable to the Emperor, went a while after with *Paul* to *Alexandria*: For during the time of his absence from the Court, he pretended to have instructed himself in all the Niceties and Criticisms of the Christian Faith; but instead of succeeding in his design, he fell into *Theodoraes* displeasure, who seemed to act in that affair by motives altogether opposite to the Emperors.

When *Paul* was arrived at *Alexandria*, and setled there, he caused the Deacon *Psoes* to be seised, and delivered into the hands of *Rhodon* (the Governor of the City) to be put to death, objecting, That he was the only man who opposed his designs, and obstructed the execution of the Emperors orders. *Rhodon* had Letters continually from the Emperor, pressing him to do whatever *Paul* should desire; wherefore he caused *Psoes* to be whipped, and *Psoes* being an infirm man, died under the correction. The news of his death being brought to the Court, by the instigation of *Theodora* (who with her prayers and perswasions, never let him rest.) *Justinian* expressed great indignation against *Paul*, *Rhodon*, and *Arsenius*, as if he had forgot the orders which he had given them. He gave the Government of *Alexandria*, to a *Roman* of a *Patrician* family, called *Liberius*, and made choice of several Bishops of approved integrity, to go and examine the business upon the place; in which number, one was *Pelagius*, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, whom the Pope *Vigilius*

gilius had ſent as his Agent, to act as effectually, as if he had been there himſelf.

Paul being convicted of homicide, was turned out of his Biſhoprick, *Rhodon* having fled to *Conſtantinople*, and falling into the hands of *Juſtinian* was put to death, and his eſtate confiſcated, though in his own juſtification he produced ſix of the Emperors own Letters, commanding his poſitive obedience in what ever *Paul* ſhould order; and to give him liberty to do what he pleaſed in Matters of Religion. *Arſenius* was put upon the Croſs by *Liberius*, according to directions which he received from *Theodora*, and his eſtate confiſcated; and all upon no other pretence, but his friendſhip for *Paul*.

I will not trouble my ſelf ſo far as to diſpute, Whether this was done juſtly, or otherwiſe; but I ſhall tell upon what grounds I inſerted this paſſage.

Not long after *Paul* came to *Conſtantinople*, to endeavor by the offer of 300 Livers in Gold, to prevail with the Emperor to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick, having been (as he pretended) unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed. *Juſtinian* took his Money, treated him with as much honor and reſpect as was poſſible, and promiſing to reſtore him with the firſt opportunity, though at the ſame time another was in poſſeſſion; and the ſaid *Juſtinian* had cauſed two of the Biſhops beſt friends to be put to death, and confiſcated their eſtates. The Emperor pretended to deſire it much, and no body made the leaſt queſtion, but *Paul* would

be reſtored; but Pope *Vigilius*, who was at the ſame time in *Conſtantinople*, would not conſent; not enduring that they ſhould act contrary to the ſentence which *Pelagius* had given in his name: So that in all his affairs, *Juſtinians* cheif deſigns was getting of Money, by what means was poſſible to gain it. I am now writing of a Hiſtory to the ſame purpoſe, which hath ſome Analogy with the former.

There was in *Paleſtine* a Man called *Fauſtinius*, of *Jewiſh* extraction, having been born and bred by his Parents in that Religion; but for ſecurity ſake, had taken upon him the name of a Chriſtian. This perſon being choſen a Senator, came at length to be Governor of *Paleſtine*; but when the time of his Office was expired, he was accuſed at *Conſtantinople* by the Prieſts, for pretending to be a Chriſtian, when he was really a Jew, and for having committed ſeveral cruelties againſt the Chriſtians, during his Government. Upon this information *Juſtinian* was tranſported into the higheſt paſſion imaginable, holding himſelf affronted in his perſon, in that any one durſt be ſo audacious in his Reign, to contemn the name of a Chriſtian. The cauſe being brought before the Senate, upon the inſtance of the Emperor, *Fauſtinus* was condemned to be baniſhed the Empire. but having by degrees, and by a good round ſum of Money, mollified the Emperor, he cauſed execution of the Senates Dewer to be ſuſpended, and reſtored him to his imployment with as much Authority as before; after

which,

which, his credit was ſo great with the Emperor, he had the management of the Imperial Demeſns in *Phenicia* and *Paleſtine*, and diſpoſed of them with full liberty.

I ſhall ſay no more of this buſineſs, but theſe two examples are ſufficient to diſcover how *Juſtinian* delighted himſelf in perverting all the orders eſtabliſhed among the Chriſtians; and for the Laws which he aboliſhed for Money, I ſhall ſpeak of them in very few words.

In *Emeſus* there was a Perſon called *Priſcus*, exceedingly dexterous at counterfeiting of Seals, in which art he was the moſt expert Man in the World. Many years before *Mamianus* (who had been a Senator, and of no leſs eminence for his great birth, then his prodigious riches) had given all his eſtate by Will to the Church of *Emeſus*.

In proceſs of time, under the Reign of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, *Priſcus* made a Catalogue of the beſt Families of that Town, which were in greateſt reputation for wealth, and from whom he might hope for the moſt conſiderable booty. He obſerved accurately the pedigrees of thoſe who were the cheif, and having found the names of ſuch of their Anceſtors as were contemporary with *Mamianus*, he counterfeited ſeveral Receipts and Recogniſances under their names, by which they confeſſed themſelves indebted to *Mamianus* in very great ſums; by which kind of forgeries he made a ſhift among ſeveral of them to pretend to 10000 Livers of Gold. In ſhort, having imitated very neatly the hand of

the Notary, who drew up the Writings, ſigned them in *Mamians* days, and was a Man of known honeſty, and vertue; he put his Papers into the hands of thoſe who managed the affairs of the Church of *Emeſus*, upon condition he ſhould go ſnips, and have ſuch a ſhare of the Money as ſhould be agreed off betwixt themſelves: But there being a Law in force, expreſly contrary to their deſign, becauſe it reduced all Proceſſes to the Preſcription of thirty years, unleſs in Caſes of Mortgage; and ſeveral others where the Preſciptions were to extend but to forty years; they concluded to go to *Conſtantinople*, and give a round ſum to the Emperor, to favor them in their pernicious deſign of ruining their Fellow Citizens.

Being arrived at his Court, they did as they had reſolved, and the Emperor having got his Money, put forth a Decree, by which he required, That affairs which related any way to the Church, ſhould not be reſtrained to the ordinary Preſcription, but that any thing might be recovered, if claimed within a hundred years; and this he commanded ſhould be obſerved quite thorow the *Roman* Empire, but more particularly in the City of *Emeſus*; and not long after he ſent *Longinus* thither, a high ſpirited, and exceeding ſtrong man, whom he made Governor of that City, on purpoſe to ſee that new Ordinance put in execution. At firſt, the Officers of the Church of *Emeſus*, having proſecuted ſome of their Fellow Citizens upon their pretended obligations, for a ſum of Two hundred

Livers

Livers in Gold, they were condemned to pay it, the poor men not being able to rake out of the darkneſs of Antiquity any objection that might defend them. This put the whole Town of *Emeſus* in ſtrange conſternation, eſpecially the principal Citizens, who were more highly inraged againſt their Accuſors, becauſe the danger was directed more particularly againſt them. But when all the Inhabitants of that Town were ready to be involved in this common ruine, God Almighty prevented it in his mercy. One day *Longinus* having ordered *Priſcus* (the Author of this deteſtable invention) to bring him all his Claims, that he might ſee how they were grounded; obſerving him unwilling, and to make more difficulty then was neceſſary, he grew angry, and in his paſſion, gave him a Box on the Ear, as hard as he could ſtrike. The wretch ſwounded with the ſtroke (which came unexpectedly, and from the ſtrongeſt Man in the World) fell backward upon the ground; and apprehending *Longinus* had had ſome light of his forgery, he confeſt the whole buſineſs, whereby all being diſcovered, the Suits which were commenced were ſtopped, and all their Proceſſes ceaſed.

Juſtinian was not contented to ſubvert the Laws of the Empire every day, but he muſt interfere with the *Jews*, and aboliſh ſuch of theirs, as were the very Fundamentals of their Religion. In a word, if *Eaſter* fell out ſooner in their Kalander, then the Chriſtians (which might very well happen, becauſe their ways of com-

putation were ſeveral) he would not ſuffer them to make their ſolemnities on their own uſual day, nor to exerciſe ſuch offices of Devotion, as their Religion required. The Magiſtrate likewiſe fined ſeveral of them, upon an information, That they had eaten the Paſchal Lamb, as a thing contrary to the Laws of that State.

I know a thouſand Crimes of this nature, which I could charge upon *Juſtinian*, but I paſs them over in ſilence, becauſe it is time to finiſh my Hiſtory which is already too long, and I think has ſufficiently diſcovered the temper of that Tyrant: Nevertheleſs, I ſhall add two words to ſhow his Falſhood and Hypocriſie.

He turned *Liberius* (of whom I have ſpoke before) out of his Government, and put an *Egyptian* called *Laxarion* into his place; which coming to the ears of *Pelagius* the Pope, who was a great friend to *Liberius*, he went to *Juſtinian* to know, if what was reported of *Laxarion*, was true. *Juſtinian* denied there was any ſuch thing, and to convince his Holineſs, that he had no intention to remove *Liberius*, he put into his Holineſs his hand a new Commiſſion, confirming the ſaid *Liberius* in his Government, and requiring him not to quit it, without new orders from him. There was at that time in *Conſtantinople*, an Uncle of *Johns* called *Eudemon*, a rich man, who had been Conſul, and had then the charge of the Emperors Demeſns. This *Eudemon* having heard what had paſſed betwixt the Emperor, and the Pope, went to

the

the Emperor to inform himself, whether his Nephew was turned out of his Government, or not. The Emperor taking no notice to *Eudemon* of the Commission which he had delivered for *Liberius* to the Pope, gave *Eudemon* another, to put his Nephew *Laxarion* into the said Government, and declaring, That he did still retain the same good will towards him, that he had always expressed.

John believing himself safe under the Authority of his Commission, sent to require *Liberius* to remove out of the Governors Palace, as having to do there no farther: *Liberius* refused it, and to justifie himself, produced the Emperors Patents. *John* seeing he would not obey, caused his friends to take Arms, and try to remove him by force; *Liberius* defended himself with his Guards, and the conflict was so bloody, that several persons were slain, and *Laxarion* among the rest. *Eudemon* followed the business very close afterwards, and upon his solicitation, *Liberius* was sent for to *Constantinople*; where being heard before the Senate, he was acquitted of the murder, as done in his own defence. Nevertheless, *Justinian* would not let him escape so, but forced him to give him a good sum of Money, before he could be quiet. By this we may see an instance of the friendship which *Justinian* bare to the truth, and of the great care he took, never to offend against it. I shall now make (and I suppose not impertinently) a little digression in this place, and insert it by way of addition to my Book.

Eudemon, whom I mentioned but now, died not long after, without either Children or Will, but his heirs general were numerous. About the ſame time, the cheif Eunuch of the Court called *Euphratas*, died likewiſe without diſpoſing of any thing of the great riches which he poſſeſſed, becauſe he left a Siſters Son, who was in Law to be his heir: But the Emperor got both their eſtates into his hands, giving only a third part to their heirs; and that was the way he expreſſed his tenderneſs for the Laws, and his moderation to the Children of thoſe Perſons, who had been his great Favorites whileſt they were living. He ſeiſed likewiſe all the eſtate of *Irenæus*, who had been dead a long time without any right, or ſo much as reaſonable pretence. And there was another thing hapned about this time, which I cannot omit.

There was at *Aſcalone*, a perſon called *Anatolius*, without contradiction the cheif Man in the Senate of that Town, whoſe only Daughter, *Mammilianus* (who was of the ſame quality in *Ceſaria*) had married, and by her had the inheritance of his eſtate. There was an antient Law, by which it was provided, That when ever a Senator died without Iſſue-male, the fourth part of his eſtate ſhould go to the uſe of the Senate, and the reſt to the heirs at Law. In this caſe alſo, *Juſtinian* gave great teſtimony of his good nature; for he decreed, That for the future, when any Senator died without Iſſue-male, the Cuſtom ſhould be inverted, the fourth part only deſcending to the heirs, and the three

other

other parts to go to the uſe of the Senate, or to the Coffers of the Emperor, though in no time it had been known, That the eſtate of any Senator had been confiſcated, or ſequeſtred to the uſe of the Publick, or for the Purſe of the Emperor.

After the publication of this Ordinance, *Anatolius* died, and his Daughter was preparing to divide her Inheritance with the Emperor and the Senate; when ſhe received a Letter from each of them, importing a remiſſion of what belonged to them: Not long after, *Mammilian* died alſo, leaving only one Daughter, who being married to a perſon of quality, died without iſſue, during the life of her Mother. On a ſudden, *Juſtinian* ſeiſed upon all, pretending (forſooth) That it was not fit the Daughter of *Anatolius*, at that age, ſhould be ſuffered to be rich, by two ways at once, that is, by her Patrimony from her Father, and her eſtate by her Husband: But to keep her from want, he granted her an allowance of one *Statera* of Gold a day, to continue whileſt ſhe lived; and in the Grant which he gave her, there were theſe following words. *We have ordered her a Statera of Gold, only in Charity; for we have been accuſtomed by our Actions to give conſtant marks of our vertuous inclinations.* But enough of this ſubject, I fear the length of my Book would diſſatisfie, ſhould I write any farther, though indeed I think it a hard matter for the memory of one man to retain all; yet I cannot but add, That he conſidered nothing at all when

Money

Money was in the case; and this appeared by his comportment with the *Venetes*, which faction had always stood for him, and he had ever professed himself as cordially for it.

He made choice of *Malthanes*, Son in Law to *Leo*, the Referendary, and a *Cilician*, as he was, to send into that Countrey to appease the Seditions which had some times since been raised in those parts. This new Governor finding the power in his own hands, used several of the *Cilicians* very ill, caused them to suffer a thousand indignities, and of the Money which he extorted unjustly from that Province; part he transported into the Emperors Coffers, and the rest he kept himself to augment the great riches which he had gotten before. Some there were who swallowed their grievances without any complaint; but those of the faction of the *Venetes* who were in *Tarsis*, seeing themselves supported by their reputation and interest with the Empress, complained publickly of the proceedings of *Malthanes*, who was not then there to defend himself. The news of it coming to his ears, he got his Troops together, and marching to *Tarsis* in the night, by break of day he caused them to enter into the houses, with orders to spare no body. The *Venetes* supposing the Town was surprised by the Enemy, took Armes and stood upon their guard: Several Charges and Engagements hapned in the Town; in one of which, *Damianus* the Senator, who was cheif of the party of the *Venetes* in *Tarsis*, was slain with an Arrow.

This

This news arriving at *Constantinople*, the *Venetes* began to assemble in the streets, and to murmur highly at their usage; they complained to the Emperor, of the violences which had been exercised against their Brethren, and threatned to revenge themselves upon *Leo* and *Malthanes*. But *Leo* by a magnificent present, prevented the execution of the Order which *Justinian* had passed, and abated so much of the ardor which he had always shown for that faction, that the Process was stopped; and when *Malthanes* came to Court a while after, the Emperor received him very honorably, and treated him as kindly as he could wish: But the *Venetes* inraged, having set upon him as he was passing from the Emperors apartment, wounded him severely, and had certainly killed him, had not some of their own party, whom *Leo* had corrupted with his Money, preserved him.

Is there any man living, that thinks not that State in an unhappy condition, where the Prince suffering himself to be bribed and corrupted with Money, leaves offences unpunished; and where the Malecontents are so audacious as to attempt a Magistrate in the Palace, and before the eyes of their Emperor? In short, *Malthanes* and his assasins remained equally unpunished, which may easily insinuate the temper of *Justinian:* Yet for further eviction, and to show how much he applied himself to the good of the Commonwealth, I shall only add his behavior towards the Posts and the Spies.

The

The Emperors which had Reigned before him, had Eſtabliſhed ways of Intelligence, for the ſpeedier underſtanding the Motions and Attempts of their Enemies upon the Frontiers, and particularly they had ſetled a Correſpondency in every City and Village in thoſe Provinces, that thereby they might be advertiſed of any Sedition or other accident that might happen; as alſo of the Deportment of their Governors and Lieutenant Generals; and for the ſafer and more ſpeedy Conveyance of ſuch ſums of Money, as ſhould be raiſed in the Provinces more immediately under the Jurisdiction of the Empire, or in ſuch as were only tributary: To this purpoſe in every days journey, they had ſetled a Man who was to Poſt Eight Stages a day, but in ſome places their Stages were not ſo many, though five were the feweſt. In theſe ſeveral Stages, there were about forty layd Horſes, and a juſt proportion of Grooms: Thoſe therefore who had any important Affairs, made uſe of this way, and by frequent change of Horſes, which were always in Breath, they would make as much way eaſily in one day, as in ten any other way. This was not only convenient to ſuch as had buſineſs of importance, but was likewiſe of great advantage to thoſe whoſe Lands lay in the middle of the Provinces, and yielded them a conſiderable Revenue, by giving them opportunity of putting off their Grain and other Commodities, to ſuch as had the Charge of thoſe Horſes, and were to provide for the Paſſengers;

gers; These Post Masters likewise conveying into the Emperors Treasurie, the Moneys which were returned, had the liberty to difalke what Wages was due to them for their pains; so that all was very well ordered for the good of the State, and this was the Method which had been Established of old. But *Justinian* having ruined the Post betwixt *Calcedonia* and *Dacibile*, all who had business that way, were constrained to pass betwixt *Constantinople* and *Helenopolis*, in the little Boats, which were used before only to waft them over the *Streight*, whereby they were perpetually obnoxious to the Tempests which are very frequent in that passage, for when a Man is pressed by the Necessity of his Affairs, he stands not to consider whether it be fair or fowl, or what danger there is of the Weather. The Road to *Persia*, *Justinian* left as he found it established, but for all the rest, either into the East or *Egypt*, in every days journey, he would not suffer those stables of Horses to be continued for the convenience of Travellers, but the passage was made upon Asses, and those very few: By which means it came to pass, that Advertisements were very slow from the Provinces, and most commonly too late for any Remedy to be applyed: Those whose Estates lay upon the Roads, were exceedingly impoverished, having no vent nor utterance for their Commodities; and so much for the Messengers or Posts: I shall speak now of the Spyes. There were great numbers of them

them entertained by the State, who under pretence of Trading, or some other Invention, went every day among the Enemies, and some of them into the very Court of the King of *Persia*, where having discovered the Intrigues of the *Barbarians*, they returned with all diligence, to make Report to the Emperors, who thereby had time not only to foresee, but to prevent most of their Designs, as having Advertisement a long time before. Tis now many years since, the *Persians* have taken this Custome from us, but *Cosroes* made better use of it, then any of his Predecessors, having given more then ordinary Wages to his Spyes, and great and magnificent Rewards, when any thing did happily succeed, never employing any that was born a Subject of *Rome*. But *Justinian* having cut off this Entercourse, was the occasion of very great Losses, and particularly of the Country of the *Laziens*, which was Conquered by the Enemy, because *Justinian* could never get Intelligence of the place, against which the King of the *Persians* designed. It had been likewise a Custome of old, to keep a great number of Cammels, at the Charges of the State, which were to follow the Army upon its March in time of War, to carry the Baggage, that the Country people might not be disturbed in their Business, and that nothing might be wanting to the Souldiers: But *Justinian* Retrenched them likewise for the greatest part, so that at present when one has any occasion more then ordinary,

and

and desires to make more then ordinary Expedition, he wants every thing that is necessary, as having no convenience to carry his Baggage: And this was the great care he took of things which were of the greatest consequence for the Conservation of the State; and to which, he ought to have applied himself with particular diligence. Though this that has been said, has been sufficient, I cannot contain from adding another story of him, which in my judgment is very ridiculous.

There was in *Cesarea* an Advocate called *Evangelus*, who having had very good fortune, was grown so rich, that he bought for Three hundred Livers of Gold, a great Town called *Porphyrion*, which is scituate upon the Sea-shore. The news of his purchase being brought to *Justinian*, he took it from him, returning but a very inconsiderable part of what it cost, and alledging only, That it was not a decent thing to see so great, and so beautiful a Town in the hands of such a Lawyer as *Evangelus*. But enough of this subject, what remains to be spoken of, is only of some things which were innovated by *Justinian* and *Theodora*.

When the Senators went to salute the Emperor, they did it as follows. Every one who was of a *Patrician* family, kissed the Emperors right Cheek, when he came in, and when he went out the Emperor kissed his Head: All the rest that were of inferior rank, retired after they had clapped their right knee upon the ground; and

and for the Empreſs, the Men never made any compliments to her. But thoſe who came to ſalute *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, whether Senators, or of inferior degree, proſtrated themſelves upon their face, ſtretched out their hands and their feet; kiſſed both his feet, one after another, and then retired. *Theodora* ſuffered the ſame honors to be done to her, receiving at her own Palace the Ambaſſadors from *Perſia*, and other Foreign Nations, and (which was never practiced before, at leaſt ſince Hiſtory has preſented us with the occurences of paſſed ages) giving them rich and magnificent preſents, to let them ſee that ſhe was abſolute Miſtreſs, and governed the whole Empire. Formerly, when the Emperor was ſpoken of, he was called *Cæſar*, and his Wife *Auguſta*, and other Princes had their Titles according to their qualities: But when any Addreſs was made to *Theodora* or *Juſtinian*, if they were called only Emperor and Empreſs, without the addition of Soveraign Lord, or Soveraign Princeſs; the perſon was not only looked upon as ill-bred, and a Clown, but he was ſure to be ill received, and turned out as one that was guilty of ſome hainous offence. Formerly few perſons went to Court, and thoſe few who did go, went very rarely; but ſince the Government of *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, all the Magiſtrates, and all other perſons, were continually in the Palace, and the reaſon of it was, becauſe heretofore the Magiſtrates might freely adminiſter Juſtice, and execute their

their Sentences and Decrees among themselves, according to Custom, and the parties never troubled the Emperor with their importunities, being perswaded within themselves, that no injustice would be done them. But *Justinian* having ingrossed all business, that thereby he might more easily ruine his subjects, he brought them to a condition that was little better then slavery. The Courts of Justice were always empty, and scarce a Man to be seen; whereas in the Palace, infinite multitudes were continually to be seen, pressing and crouding to out-do one another in the servility of their obedience. Those who were in most favor with them, and seemed to have the greatest interest in their affection, waited whole days, and a great part of the night, but they got nothing but their labor for their pains, having no other compensation for all their assiduity and attendance, then a vain image of felicity and good fortune. Others who were not intangled in those cares and formalities, had yet their troubles to think what was become of all the Treasure and Riches of the Empire. Some said the *Barbarians* had divided it among them, others, that the Emperor had hid it in several places, which very few knew. For my part, I will not speak my sentiment, only this I will say, That when *Justinian* dies, (for he is but a Man, and

mortal as we) or when he has ruined and confounded every thing, if he be a Devil (as many imagine) those who are then living, will be able to judge of the truth.

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